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NATO Brussels Meeting Generates Commentary

'Reassessment of Values'

PM042035 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Mar 87
First Edition p 5

[Special correspondents V. Drobkov and Yu. Kharlanov dispatch: "Reassessment of Values? Certain Results of the Brussels NATO Summit"]

[Text] Special sessions of the NATO Council at the level of heads of state and government are an infrequent occurrence—and one which to a certain extent is disappearing from the regulations of the North Atlantic alliance. As a rule they are convened to formulate bloc strategy and tactics at crucial stages in the development of the international situation. The present summit of NATO's 16 member states was indeed primarily an acknowledgement of the fact that in the wake of the signing of the treaty between the USSR and the United States on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles the military-political climate in Europe and the world has begun to change. To change moreover in a direction which elicits the approval of realistic figures and the suspicion [nastorozhennost] and sometimes even the overt opposition of NATO's hawks.

For the 2,000 journalists currently assembled in NATO's political headquarters in Brussels there has been no shortage of material for reflection, commentary, and evaluation. Evaluations which have been far from identical and at times even contradictory and mutually exclusive.

Typical in this respect are the differences in today's newspapers. Paris' LE FIGARO believes a compromise was arrived at in Brussels which makes it possible to maintain the unity of approaches to the problems of disarmament. While London's FINANCIAL TIMES assesses the results of the meeting as "dissension in NATO" and remarks that the streamlined formulas of the concluding documents permit their most diverse interpretation.

As for the NATO leaders themselves, they hastened to give the just-ended session the very highest mark. NATO Secretary General Lord Carrington stated that in Brussels the bloc's leaders had been able to formulate "clear criteria" for future negotiations on disarmament problems. U.S. President R. Reagan called the state of affairs within the bloc "remarkable." The prime minister of Great Britain, M. Thatcher, said that the summit meeting had been "important and very successful" and that the alliance's leaders had "achieved all the goals they set themselves."

But is everything in the North Atlantic bloc really going so splendidly? The first conclusion which can be drawn from a familiarization with the materials of the NATO summit is that despite the not inconsiderable efforts made by NATO's leaders in Brussels, they failed to achieve complete unanimity. More often than not a verbal compromise was found here between the partners' fairly contradictory positions.

Thus, while stubbornly avoiding the use of the word "modernization" in the documents and at the news conferences, several NATO leaders nevertheless let it be understood they are not renouncing their intention to seek the improvement of the bloc's U.S. tactical nuclear arsenal in Europe.

For the representatives of a number of countries have spoken out precisely against such modernization. Moreover, as is being transparently hinted at within NATO, this modernization is essentially already under way—it is planned to step up the potential of the U.S. nuclear artillery, and a program to improve the Lance missiles is in preparation. Efforts are also being made to compensate for the upcoming destruction of the U.S. cruise and Pershing-2 missiles by transferring new nuclear-armed aircraft to the European theater and rebasing off Europe's shores ships and submarines equipped with cruise missiles.

But at the same time the attempts "to circumvent" the results of the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles concluded by the USSR and the United States have caused concern and protests even within the North Atlantic bloc itself. True, only Greece officially refused to sign the nuclear aspects of the documents adopted in Brussels. But the anxiety felt on this score by Denmark, the Netherlands, and other countries is also widely known. Has not the special position adopted now by the FRG become a new, unusual factor for NATO? Federal Chancellor H. Kohl and Foreign Minister H.-D. Genscher opposed the modernization of tactical nuclear armaments. President of France F. Mitterrand called for a search for ways not to build up but to reduce the various arsenals.

When analyzing the materials of the summit meeting one cannot fail to note that on this occasion NATO did not avoid the pronouncement of statements which—to put it mildly—are far removed from the true state of affairs. M. Thatcher asserted that the Soviet Union is making "attempts to wrest Europe from the United States."

It was strange to encounter in the joint declaration of the heads of state and government the statement that NATO "has not yet witnessed the slackening of the military efforts which the Soviet Union has been undertaking for years." It is as if the alliance is unaware of the USSR's specific steps to reduce armaments and withdraw our troops and combat hardware—including shorter-range nuclear missiles—from the territory of allied states, of the unilateral moratorium on nuclear tests for so long observed by the USSR, and of Moscow's many other peace initiatives.

It would be naive, however, to count on a unanimous acknowledgement within NATO of the values of the Soviet proposals. Otherwise this alliance would cease to be the bloc it now is. But as soon as the NATO member countries' heads of state and government called on the USSR and the other socialist states in their declaration for joint efforts for the sake of "further easing tension, greater security at low levels of armaments, more extensive human contacts, and increased access to information," then it would have been natural to also expect from them a really unprejudiced assessment of Soviet actions and intentions free from the stereotypes of the past.

For the time being the majority of NATO's leaders continue to operate in terms of the old thinking. They seek to maintain in respect of the socialist countries the "enemy image" so essential for fueling the arms race in the West.

The majority—but by no means all of them. As the present summit session of the NATO Council has demonstrated, even in this bloc, among the more farsighted of the political leaders, the understanding is ripening that in today's interdependent world it is impossible to build interstate relations on a foundation of confrontation and suspicion, that it is impossible to seek just one's own security while disregarding the legitimate interests of others. And, finally, that peace and stability on our planet cannot be guaranteed by the ceaseless buildup of armaments and that it is essential right now to set about reducing them.

Thus, in our view the Brussels meeting of NATO's leaders reflected a definite reassessment under way in the bloc of the values of as yet contradictory ways to curb an arms race which poses an equal threat to the peoples of states belonging to differing social systems.

Chervov Welcomes NATO Document

LD061320 Moscow TASS in English 1308 GMT 6 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 6 TASS—By TASS diplomatic correspondent Vadim Biryukov:

"We, certainly, welcome the statement by the NATO leaders that they support the Soviet-American treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles and favour its speediest ratification. Yet we have been most clearly disappointed with the final statements by the NATO session on the conventional weapons", Colonel General Nikolay Chervov, chief of the administration of the General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces, said today.

"Way back in June 1986, the Warsaw treaty countries put forward at the session of the Political Consultative Committee in Budapest a specific programme for a significant reduction of conventional weapons in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals. It is precisely the programme that was set forth in Budapest, and the aims, subject, the stages and measures of control for the implementation of that programme were pointed out," Nikolay Chervov said in the interview with the TASS diplomatic correspondent.

"For two years we have waited for an answer from the NATO member-countries. And if the leaders of the North Atlantic alliance view their statement entitled, conventional weapons control: a programme for the future, as a response to the Budapest programme, this is wishful thinking. I have attentively read that paper and have not discovered in it the essence of the NATO concept in the field of disarmament, a programme as such, especially as compared with the Budapest programme."

"As far as conventional weapons are concerned, I, for example, have not found in that document any mention of a mutual reduction of armed forces and conventional weapons in Europe," Nikolay Chervov said. "Moreover, there is an impression that they are speaking with the Soviet Union and our allies in the form of an ultimatum, and the question is raised about a unilateral reduction of the Armed Forces of the Warsaw Treaty Organisation. But where are the ideas, which were repeatedly put forward, about a mutual elimination of the disbalance, asymmetry simultaneously in the Armed Forces of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Organisation? No such ideas are to be found in the NATO paper. Instead, an unfounded claim is made about Soviet military superiority and a Soviet military threat. In view of this, there is an impression that the NATO paper is of a propaganda character."

Then the Soviet expert quoted specific examples from the NATO paper.

Excerpt: The Soviet Union's military presence in Europe at the level by far exceeding its needs for ensuring its defence, creates a direct threat to our security, as well as to our hopes for a change in the political situation in Europe (translated from Russian—TASS).

Commentary: "As far as the Soviet threat to the security of Europe is concerned, this is not a new allegation," Nikolay Chervov said. "It was right after the October Revolution that the British ambassador to Moscow reported to London that if an end was not put immediately to Bolshevism in Russia, the civilization of the whole world would be in jeopardy. Since then they in the West have claimed in different wrapper about the Bolshevik, Red, Soviet threat. Yet, in real facts, things stand the other way round. The Soviet Union and the Warsaw treaty member states are encircled with many hundreds of U.S. and NATO military bases packed full with nuclear weapons, all of them being trained on the Soviet Union's territory. Considering the strategic offensive weapons of the USA, our territory is under a double threat. The Soviet union has nothing of the kind vis-a-vis the USA. Thus who threatens whom in real fact?"

Excerpt: Disbalance in the field of conventional weapons in Europe remains the main cause of concern about Europe's security.

Commentary: "But aren't we also concerned about that?" Nikolay Chervov inquires. "Since two three-million strong armies confront one another in Europe. [sentence as received] NATO has by almost 1,500 warplanes of the strike airforce more than the Warsaw Treaty Organisation. NATO has almost double superiority as regards war helicopters. Why doesn't the document mention the strike tactical airforce? A mutual elimination of disbalances is necessary—from the NATO side, primarily of strike aircraft. But the NATO paper says that they are concerned about Soviet tanks and artillery. But we are concerned about the NATO strike airforce and war helicopters. I will stress once again that the NATO countries stubbornly decline examining the balance of the military forces as a whole, and pick out what suits their aim best. As a result, in particular, attention is focussed in every way possible only on the tanks of the countries of the Warsaw Treaty Organisation, as if NATO had no superiority in the strike air force and war helicopters."

Excerpt: Basing itself on the Soviet Union's forward-based forces, the Warsaw treaty has a potential for a surprise attack....

Commentary: "There is a rough military parity between the Warsaw Treaty Organisation and NATO. It must be noted, for that matter, that NATO has more combat-ready divisions and brigades capable of carrying out offensive operations," Nikolay Chervov said. "The member states of the Warsaw treaty propose the NATO countries that an agreement be concluded on military non-aggression against one another, that a nuclear-free corridor be created along the line of contact of the two alliances with a width of 300 km, from which it is necessary to withdraw all the types of offensive weapons. Why do the NATO countries refuse to do so?"

Excerpt: The military potential and actions by the Warsaw Treaty Organisation are, as before, shrouded into a veil of secrecy.

Commentary: "I consider it to be an unfounded statement since we have actually opened the Soviet Union's territory and the Soviet Armed forces for inspection within the framework of the Stockholm agreements," Nikolay Chervov said. "Considerable control measures with on-site inspection are envisaged by the INF Treaty. But what about the NATO member countries? The territory of the USA and Canada has been taken out of control despite the fact that the USA is a direct participant in the Stockholm Conference on Confidence- and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe. Besides, the military activities of the U.S. Navy and Airforce are top classified. No talks are being held on a reduction of the Navy because of the reluctance of the USA. One cannot help asking in that connection: Whose military activities are shrouded into a veil of secrecy?"

"In signing that document, the participants in the NATO session proceeded, as it seems to us, from the premise that they should make the governments of their countries increase their military spendings," Nikolay Chervov continued. "But a considerably more serious cause of the non-constructive character of their document is probably that the NATO member countries do not wish to give up the concept of nuclear deterrence, which in translation into the Russian language means that the more there are nuclear weapons, the more, they claim, there is security. Here is what the NATO document says, in particular, in that connection:

They (the members of the North Atlantic alliance) will neither put forward, nor take decisions leading to undermining the nuclear potential of deterrence which the allies have.

"Thus the countries of the Warsaw Treaty Organisation, meeting half-way the NATO member countries in the field of disarmament, put forward specific compromise proposals. Meanwhile, unfortunately, the NATO countries are going back on their word," Nikolay Chervov emphasized.

Differences, 'New Realities'

PM041655 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Mar 88 Second Edition p 7

[Special correspondents V. Drobkov, Yu. Kharlanov report: "Taking Account of the New Realities"]

[Text] Brussels, 3 Mar—The special session of the NATO Council concluded its work in the Belgian capital today.

The session sat behind closed doors, and much of what the NATO leaders talked about is still not known. It is clear from the appraisals leaked to the press by its participants and also from the initial commentaries by local observers, however, that the definite differences that have emerged recently in the bloc allies' positions were again apparent at the session.

A number of the allies—Britain first and foremost—are now advocating the modernization of the nuclear arms remaining outside the framework of the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles. This approach, if the information "leaks" from bloc Headquarters are to be believed, was asserted most glaringly in the speech at the session by British Prime Minister M. Thatcher. At the same time, a number of the state leaders who spoke argued that NATO should be more vigorous in seeking ways toward effective arms control. Thus, the Greek representative spoke against the NATO "nuclear deterrence" policy and stated that he supported the idea of eliminating nuclear weapons by the year 2000.

Many observers are now widely discussing the question of what has made M. Thatcher revert, in a BBC TV commentator's words, to "the language of the Iron Lady." Everyone agrees the prime minister's harsh tone testifies to a desire on London's part to head the movement in favor of accelerated modernization of the tactical nuclear arsenal that a number of bloc military leaders support. Moreover, as has been pointed out here, M. Thatcher is urging that U.S. President R. Reagan "should not give way too much" during the forthcoming visit to Moscow.

As for the statements made by the other Council session participants, they were distinguished mainly by an obvious wish to avoid public discussion of the differences on security problems that have emerged within the bloc. It has been particularly noted here that even the French delegation "spoke with one voice" at the session—and that, according to one French televison program moderator, was "the voice of the president." As is well known, Prime Minister J. Chirac had earlier repeatedly advocated tougher positions than President F. Mitterrand.

In Brussels the French president called for a constructive policy to be pursued in the sphere of arms control, stating that it was inappropriate to be demanding increased armament at the very moment when the world had been given a real chance of reducing it.

On Wednesday evening journalists were given a statement issued on behalf of the heads of state and government taking part in the NATO Council's work. It was devoted to the problem of conventional arms control. On the one hand, the fact that the leaders of the North Atlantic alliance countries discussed this vitally important question in detail and agreed in principle that steps must be taken with the aim of maintaining "security and stability in Europe at the lowest-possible level of armament" is undoubtedly a step forward.

When you try to get a handle on this extensive document, however, the impression is created that many of the passages in it are meant for propaganda purposes rather than for businesslike needs. Provisions can be perceived in it which are, to put it mildly, not consonant with the spirit of the times. Thus, the statement, as before, speaks of the "superiority" of the Warsaw Pact Organization in the sphere of conventional arms which has long been disputed by many authoritative experts.

The attempts in the statement to link the specific problem of conventional arms to questions of different ideologies and social systems also do not look very convincing. Finally, the statement that even in the event of a sharp cutback in conventional weapons NATO insists on the preservation and possibly also on the improvement of its nuclear forces cannot fail to provoke wariness.

The 19-point declaration adopted today by the heads of state and government notes the bloc's support for the treaty between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles and expresses the hope that it will soon enter into forces and also that "at the forthcoming summit meeting in Moscow between President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev it will be possible to consolidate the progress" achieved at their December meeting in Washington. The declaration notes that the all-embracing concept of NATO security includes the wish of the USSR and United States to achieve a 50-percent reduction of strategic offensive arms.

The NATO heads of the state and government also mentioned in their declaration the possibility of reducing U.S. and Soviet ground-launched short-range nuclear missile systems down to a common "ceiling" in parallel with the establishment of equilibrium in conventional arms and the total destruction of chemical weapons. At the same time the declaration asserts that conventional weapons alone cannot ensure "deterrence."

The old assertions about the "Soviet danger" have rung out in the NATO Headquarters. Thus, when addressing journalists here today, U.S. President R. Reagan said once again that the chief threat to the West emanates from the "massive military presence" of the USSR. M. Thatcher's utterances were couched in a similar spirit too.

'Uncommonly Disunited' Alliance

LD052039 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1500 GMT 5 Mar 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Commenting on the results of the extraordinary NATO session at the level of heads of states and governments in Brussels the foreign press notes that the new Soviet policy of disarmament has presented the North Atlantic bloc with serious problems.

[Unidentified speaker] Few people in the FRG were deluded by the forced smiles of NATO leaders in Brussels. Paragraphs of the summit communique, which was, according to Helmut Kohl, to confirm Western unity and firmness, had been prepared long in advance. They are deceptive, DER SPIEGEL thinks. The Atlantic alliance is uncommonly disunited. The causes are clear. For over four decades the Western alliance subsisted on the fear of Russians. This cement, the magazine writes, started crumbling from the moment the Soviet Union began its offensive in the disarmament sphere. The old image of the belligerent Russian bear has lost its former impact.

As could be expected, the Brussels meeting failed to work out a clear-cut and constructive concept for further NATO steps in response to the Soviet proposals. West Germans, usually regarded as the best NATO pupils, have turned into troublemakers. Warnings against becoming infected with the virus of restructuring can be

heard ever more often from overseas and misty Albion said to the FRG: The friendlier the Russians, the more dangerous they become and so on.

What are the motives behind Bonn's stubborness, which it displays in trying to postpone the issue of modernizing tactical nuclear missiles? Most probably, the motives are political. Those on the Rhine cannot be unaware of the fact that the dividends the government gained from the accord on eliminating intermediate- and shorter- range missiles can be brought to nothing in a second. Yet one should not underrate the influence of FRG military circles. In the end, it is they who are submitting incredible figures on Warsaw Pact superiority in conventional arms. To find a common denominator to all these stances—and this is a leitmotiv of the local press—a meeting in Brussels, be it even a summit, is hardly enough.

NATO 'Counter' to Summit Accord

LD042308 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 4 Mar 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Boris Kalyagin, political observer of Soviet television, comments on the results of the session of the NATO Council at the level of heads of state and government which has ended in Brussels:

[Kalyagin] Hello Comrades. The leaders of the NATO countries have met for the first time in 6 years. The reason for this meeting was quite significant: The desire to work out the strategy of the alliance in the context of the signing of the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Nuclear Missiles and of other agreements which are being prepared.

In their speeches, the Western leaders said a great deal about the need to show unity in the North Atlantic alliance. Such persistent calls for cohesion are not coincidental. Differences have arisen among the bloc partners with respect to future NATO policy. Fully to blame for this, writes the West German journal SPIEGEL, is General Secretary Gorbachev with his newer and newer disarmament proposals. It is of course naive to imagine that by submitting peace initiatives our country is trying to drive a wedge between the NATO allies. The point lies elsewhere. The new political thinking which the Soviet leadership is demonstrating is forcing Western governments to reinterpret the stereotypes which have taken shape in international relations. This process, however, is taking place in a far from simple manner.

British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher—At whose initiative, incidentally, the present meeting in Brussels assembled—continues to depict the Soviet Union as a country posing a military threat. She is demanding to compensate for the missiles subject to elimination by modernizing and even increasing other nuclear means. At the same time, other figures such as FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl, and the French President Francois Mitterrand consider it to be inappropriate to advocate a weapons buildup at the very time real opportunities have appeared to reduce them.

AS a result, the NATO leaders reached a compromise. The word modernization is not mentioned in the documents which they have adopted. The participants in the session welcomed the Soviet-U.S. treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles, expressed support for the efforts to attain an agreement on a 50-percent reduction in strategic nuclear weapons, and spoke in favor of eliminating chemical weapons. It is on this perhaps that the positive basis of the meeting comes to a halt.

The NATO leaders omitted to mention the proposals by the Warsaw Pact states on the reduction of armed forces and armaments on the European continent. Instead they made demagogic demands of the socialist countries to eliminate in Europe tens of thousands of tanks and weapons. At the same time not a word was mentioned about whether they themselves intend to effect reductions for those kinds of weapons in which the NATO powers have a clear superiority. It appears that it is solely the Warsaw Pact organization which ought to reduce its military arsenals. Moreover, the Brussels declaration states that even given parity in conventional weapons, the members of NATO want to retain their nuclear forces. Thus the NATO countries have simply proved unable to give up the doctrine of so-called flexible response which envisages the possibility of being the first to use nuclear weapons. All this runs counter to the spirit of the accord reached during the Soviet-U.S. summit dialogue.

Agreements in the sphere of disarmament should take account of the security requirements of both sides and represent a balance of interests. It seems as if this simple truth has yet to be assimilated in NATO headquarters.

USSR-U.S. Nuclear Test Talks in Geneva

LD041649 Moscow TASS in English 1618 GMT 4 Mar 88

[Text] Geneva March 4 TASS—The full-scale Soviet-American talks on the elimitation and ending of nuclear testing are under way in Geneva. During the current round of the talks, the delegations have the purpose of working out more effective measures to verify compliance with the 1974 threshold test ban treaty and the 1976 peaceful nuclear explosions treaty. These measures of verification would enable the USSR and the USA to shortly ratify the afore-mentioned treaties. Moreover, these measures of verification could be applied, in whatever degree possible, to working out subsequent agreements on the further substantial limitation of nuclear tests for number and yield.

A new impetus to the talks was given by the February meeting of the foreign ministers of the two countries in Moscow. At that meeting an arrangement was reached to

speed up the work on the corresponding protocols of verification on the 1974 and 1976 treaties so as to conclude the drafting of the protocol by the coming ministerial meeting in Washington. Taking this into account the delegations conduct an intensive work to agree upon political, juridical and technical provisions of the future protocols, viewing this work as the priority task at the given stage.

Work is simultaneously conducted on preparing a joint verification experiment at the test sites of the USSR and the USA. An agreement about such an experiment was reached during the Washington summit in December 1987.

Definite practical results were reached at the talks at the given stage. A number of documents drafted in the working groups were agreed upon. The sides exchanged geographic coordinates of the wells at the test sites in the area of Semipalatinsk and in Nevada, to be used in a joint verification experiment, as well as samples of rock that will give the sides the information about typical geological and geophysical characteristics of each other's test sites.

The USSR delegation is pressing for a prompt and exact fulfillment of the coordinated tasks facing the sides at this stage of the talks and emphasizes the importance of their comprehensive solution.

Missile Vehicles Cross Border From GDR

LD041912 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 4 Mar 88

[No video available]

[Text] I begin with news from Szczecin. A column of military vehicles has come through the border crossing at Kolbaskowo: They compose the rear guard, the command posts, and technical vehicles of a former Soviet missile base, which was situated near Waren in the GDR. The SS-12 missiles and launching pads are already in the Soviet Union where they will be destroyed.

'Disbalance' Reality Between NATO, Pact

LD042224 Moscow TASS in English 2143 GMT 4 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 4 TASS—Disbalances and asymmetries in the armed forces and conventional armaments of the Warsaw treaty and NATO in Europe are a reality which cannot be denied in good faith. But it was not only disbalances and asymmetries, but the alleged superiority of the Warsaw treaty countries that was mentioned at a session of the NATO Council that was held in Brussels.

NATO strategists seem to lose sight of the fact that combat potentials of the military alliances are roughly equal, specifically, as regards the numerical strength. This was admitted by Special Adviser on Arms Control Matters to the U.S. President, Paul Nitze. He said in congress that as regards the numerical strength of the forces, this aspect of the matter is not the area where the Soviet Union or the Warsaw treaty countries have superiority. The numerical strength of the NATO countries' forces is approximately the same as that of the Warsaw treaty countries.

It can be added that with taking into account France and Spain, NATO has 94 combat-ready divisions in Europe while the Warsaw treaty countries have 78 divisions there. And an American division numbers 16-19 thousand troops, a division of the FRG—23 thousand troops, while divisions of the Warsaw treaty countries each have 10-12 thousand troops at the most.

The number of tanks remains a sensitive matter. The Warsaw treaty countries really have a greater number of tanks but this edge can be considerably reduced when Spain joins NATO. Besides that, NATO has a several times greater number of anti-tank weapons than the Warsaw treaty countries. The correlation of forces in the area of tactical aviation is also in favour of NATO. The ratio for combat aircraft is 1.2 to 1 in favour of NATO, while the ratio for helicopters is 1.8 to 1.

In a report to congress about the military budget for the 1987 fiscal year the then U.S. defense secretary Caspar Weinberger said that the correlation of conventional forces does not require an equal number of tanks, aircraft or numerical strength of the infantry. Statistics show that NATO and the Warsaw treaty organization have a roughly equal numerical strength of the personnel and approximately equal amounts of artillery. The Warsaw treaty organization has a slight edge on the NATO for tanks, while NATO has the superiority for the number of combat-ready divisions and anti-tank weapons. NATO's edge in the number of fighter bombers is compensated for by the Warsaw treaty countries by a larger number of aircraft fighter-interceptors.

As far as disballances and asymmetries go, the Warsaw treaty countries propose to remove them by a mutual reduction of armed forces and armaments to the lowest level, while NATO countries hold that reductions should be made by the Warsaw treaty countries only.

Warsaw Pact Conventional Superiority Denied

LD060838 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0640 GMT 6 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow, 6 March (TASS)—"The assertions by representatives of the North Atlantic bloc regarding the alleged superiority of the Warsaw treaty in conventional weapons on land are unsubstantiated and do not stand up to criticism," KRASNAYA ZVEZDA considers. Why, the newspaper asks, are the armed forces of France and Spain (1,000,000 men, 20 divisions) not included in their calculations on the NATO side? On what basis does the balance of forces fail to take account of that part of

the armed forces which comes under the national jurisdiction of the NATO countries; and why are reserve formations and stockpiled arsenals and equipment not included in the calculation? Why are data on the NATO armed forces intentionally lowered, while those on the Warsaw Treaty Organization [WTO] armed forces are inflated? The Brussels session failed to give any answers to these questions.

The real correlation of forces in Europe, KRASNAYA ZVEZDA says, is as follows: NATO and the WTO are approximately equal in the total number of personnel and the quantity of artillery. The WTO surpasses NATO in tanks. NATO has the advantage in the number of battle-ready formations and fighter bombers. On the whole, however, approximate balance, approximate parity exists in conventional weapons. Furthermore, the socialist countries have no intention whatsoever of raising the level of this parity. On the contrary, they are ready for the most fundamental reductions in this sphere.

In the desire to help strengthen confidence on the European continent, and to reduce the danger of a sudden attack, KRASNAYA ZVEZDA goes on, the USSR and the other countries of the Warsaw treaty are proposing specific measures: to reduce to a minimum agreed level the concentration of armed forces and arms in the zone of contact of the two military alliances: withdrawal from that zone of the most dangerous offensive forms of weapons; creation of a nuclear-free corridor along the line of contact of the WTO and NATO 300 km in width (150 km on each side), from which all nuclear weapons are to be withdrawn on a mutual basis; and creation of zones of lowered concentration of arms and enhanced confidence; comparison of military doctrines and expert-level discussions of imbalances." The withdrawal of Soviet missiles from the territory of the GDR and CSSR was a practical step in this direction.

There is no reciprocity on the NATO side, however, the newspaper stresses. Instead of that, the Atlanticists demand more and more concessions, to the detriment of the security of the countries of socialism, while at the same time they intend to continue increasing their military muscles, as found reflection in the documents of the session. Plans for "compensation" in place of the intermediate- and shorter-range missiles which are being eliminated, plans for upgrading the arms of the bloc, are being feverishly worked out in the NATO offices and headquarters. A decision has already been taken in accordance with which production of binary chemical weapons has begun. The militarist aspect of the integrational processes in NATO is growing. All this is being done under the old and extremely ragged flag of the notorious "threat from the East."

U.S.-Canada Hold 'Secret' SDI Talks

LD042346 Moscow TASS in English 1847 GMT 4 Mar 88

[Text] New York March 4 TASS—The United States and Canada are conducting secret talks on a joint development of an anti-aircraft defense system, THE NATION reports. The weekly quotes U.S. Deputy-Undersecretary of Defense Lawrence Woodruff as saying that the aim of the project named provisionally the initiative in anti-aircraft defenses is to supplement effectively the Star Wars program.

The new "initiative" consists of three components. The first one is the scanning of North America's perimeter to detect the "enemy's" bombers and low-flying cruise missiles. The second component is the ensurance of communication and computer control of fighting in conditions of nuclear warfare. The main component, however, is armaments systems, above all, supersonic missiles and jet fighter planes now developed by the Pentagon. The Pentagon intends to spend about 1,000 million dollars on the research in the framework of the initiative in anti-aircraft defenses in the next five years. THE NATION reports that this program was sanctioned by President of the United States Reagan in July 1985 and is being implemented at the same time with SDI in the hope that by mid-90s, the ground will be paved for adopting the decision on the simultaneous deployment of space- and air-based defense systems.

The Canadian Government has already submitted to the Pentagon the draft agreement on cooperation in the implementation of the initiative in anti-aircraft defenses. Head of the Canadian anti-aircraft defenses and a leading military expert visited Washington last summer. They discussed with U.S. representatives methods of tracking the flights of cruise missiles. A joint project for the study and development of a special space radar is planned to be started. Plans are being made for the creation of a joint system of space communication that could be used for control and coordination of space- and air-based defenses.

Prominent expert on defense in the New Democratic Party Derek Blackburn said there is much concern that through the implementation of the initiative in anti-aircraft defenses Canada will be involved in SDI and deprived of the opportunity of influencing decision-making. THE NATION writes that this viewpoint is shared by the overwhelming majority of the Canadians. A recent opinion poll issued by the Canadian Agency for International Development showed that 70 per cent of Canadian citizens hold that the current government sacrifices Canada's interests to closer relations with Washington.

Central Committees Havana Conference Ends
LD042132 Moscow TASS in English 2104 GMT 4 Mar 88

[Text] Havana March 5 TASS—The secretaries for international matters of the Central Committees of the Communist and Workers' Parties of socialist countries held a conference in Havana on February 29 through March 3.

The attending representatives of such parties were from Bulgaria, Hungary, Vietnam, the German Democratic Republic, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Cuba, Laos, Mongolia, Poland, Romania, the USSR and Czechoslovakia.

They held an extensive exchange of opinions on the international situation and were unanimous that thanks to actions by all forces of socialism, peace and reason, positive trends are gathering momentum.

Stress was made in this connection on the significance of the Soviet-American Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles.

The conferees reaffirmed the determination of their parties to take advantage of the favorable opportunities that have emerged for taking further steps in the field of disarmament, first of all the phased reduction of nuclear weapons until their complete elimination, the creation of nuclear-free zones, an end to nuclear testing, non-militarization of outer space, an early ban on chemical weapons and their destruction, and substantial cuts in armed forces and conventional armaments.

Readiness was reiterated to consider constructively peace proposals by other states and political forces, such as the Stockholm declaration of the Group of Six and the initiatives of the Non-Aligned Movement and the Socialist International.

The conference discussed the dramatic economic position of developing nations, aggravated by the burden of foreign debt, and its political, social and cultural implications.

In this context it pointed to the close relationship between the cardinal problems of peace, disarmament and development. The conference stressed the need to overcome underdevelopment and establish a new international economic order and voiced support for the activities of non-aligned countries in this direction.

The attendees reaffirmed their backing for efforts to achieve peace in Central America on the basis of respect for the sovereign will of each nation.

They pointed to the danger of U.S. imperialists' aggressive policy in the region and attempts to stamp out the Sandinista popular revolution, and reiterated their solidarity with the peoples of the entire continent opposing fascist-type dictatorships and struggling to win freedom and democracy and protect national sovereignty and territorial integrity.

The participants in the conference reaffirmed their solidarity with popular struggles in Asia and Africa against neo-colonialism and for independent development along the path of economic and social progress, with communists and with all fighters for national and social emancipation suffering from persecution and repression by the forces of reaction, racism and apartheid.

Proceeding from the fact that the world is indivisible. They came out strongly for a political settlement of conflicts which are dangerous hotbeds of international tension, including those in southern Africa, the Middle East and South West and South East Asia.

The conference declared support for initiatives for easing tension, in particular proposals by the DPRK for drastic cuts in the armed forces of north and south and for making the Korean Peninsula a nuclear-free zone of peace.

The conference was held in a spirit of fraternal mutual understanding and a free and businesslike exchange of opinions.

It was agreed that the next such meeting will take place in Sofia.

CEMA Secretary Sychev on Collective Activity
AU061833 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 3 Mar 88 p 4

[Interview with Vyacheslav Sychev, CEMA secretary by RABOTNICHESKO DELO correspondent, "dispatched through NOVOSTI": "Axis of Collective Activity"—date and place not given]

[Text] [Question] The CEMA member countries are making joint efforts to restructure the mechanism of multilateral cooperation in all areas. This also refers to implementing the Comprehensive Program for the CEMA Countries' Scientific and Technical Progress Through the Year 2000. What road is to be followed to implement the goals which have been set?

[Sychev] First of all—the road of closely connecting the Comprehensive Program with the work related to coordinating the national economy plans, which outline the economic development of our countries. This is the strategy of implementing this program.

The basic direction of our practical work have been developed within the system of concrete agreement and treaties, which as a rule encompass all stages of the process "science-technology-production-marketing," and takes into consideration the technological potential of our countries.

Now, according to a decision of the 43d extraordinary CEMA session, we are working out a collective concept of the international socialist division of labor.

The broad participation of the enterprises, trusts, and organizations, which are developing direct production and scientific-technical relations, is one of the characteristics of our coordination.

In the final account the concept will become a document, on the basis of which we will proceed toward a new technological model of labor division and organize the further increase of trade exchanges through broad interbranch production sharing.

We must by no means see the concept as a frozen document, which will not change until the year of 2005, in other words, until the envisaged term of its implementation.

First, while working out this concept we shall take into consideration the processes related to improving the systems of managing the national economy, which are being developed now by the CEMA member countries. On this foundation we will plan measures that are necessary for improving the mechanism of mutual cooperation.

Second, it has been envisaged to renew and modify the concept every 5 years—prior to beginning to coordinate the national economy plans for the respective period—and simultaneously, to specify the measures related to its joint implementation.

[Question] Many progressive forms of cooperation are being utilized in implementing the Comprehensive Program for the CEMA Countries' Scientific and Technical Progress Through the Year 2000. At the same time, there are still unsolved problems, for example in the area of direct relations, which you mentioned....

[Sychev] Operational cooperation between the direct participants, responsible for implementing the tasks related to the various problems, ensures the diversified forms of international cooperation. First of all this is scientific production sharing on the basis of direct relations between the enterprises, trusts, and organizations of the CEMA member countries, which are being implemented on a contractual basis. Then, there are the joint enterprises and scientific-technical organizations, which already exist.

The scope of direct relations and the number of joint plants is quickly increasing as a result of the important governmental decisions, which have been adopted, and which significantly expand the rights of the economic organizations in this area.

Simultaneously, it is necessary to create many additional and necessary conditions for developing the scope of direct relations. Increasing the mutual information between the enterprises on the technological possibilities of the foreign partners and obtaining the rights to independently conduct foreign trade operations, are such conditions.

There are still many unsolved practical problems related to the activity of the joint enterprises. Setting the prices of the joint production is such a problem. A significant part of these prices will be set after the results of implementing this new form of cooperation among the CEMA member countries' enterprises and organizations are reviewed.

Another factor is very important now: All countries are attributing special importance to the process of developing progressive forms of cooperation. They are adopting the necessary measures related to creating a mechanism of cooperation, equipped with the appropriate economic and organizational-legal instruments.

[Question] What possibilities does the Comprehensive Program reveal in everything related to expanding the international division of labor and intensifying scientific-technical production sharing between East and West?

[Sychev] The high level of science and technology, both in the CEMA countries and in the developed capitalist countries creates conditions for using joint efforts to solve the problems of fundamental character and the specific scientific-technical tasks, by taking the specialization of the partners into consideration.

By implementing the program, and simultaneously strengthening their scientific-technical potential, economic security, and technological-economic independence, the CEMA member countries are ready to actively participate in the world division of labor and in scientific-technical cooperation. Simultaneously, they decisively reject policy of bans and discrimination in the areas of techniques and technology, conducted by certain capitalist countries. They think international scientific-technical cooperation must acquire a broad and comprehensive character, and are ready to make a significant contribution to working out and implementing a uniform global program in this area.

The implementation of the Comprehensive Program will certainly prompt a significant expansion of the CEMA member countries' export and import possibilities, and reveal good prospects for expanding the international division of labor and increasing scientific-technical production sharing and trade between East and West.

I would like to stress that the development of the socialist economic integration has always contributed to establishing mutually beneficial and equal cooperation of the CEMA member countries with third countries, more precisely, with the developed capitalist countries, which are interested in such cooperation. The implementation of the Comprehensive Program for the CEMA Countries' Scientific and Technical Progress Through the Year 2000 will be no exception in this respect.

Weekly 'International Observers Roundtable'
LD062028 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1230 GMT 6 Mar 88

["International Observers Roundtable" program, presented by USSR Gosteleradio political observer Valentin Fedorovich Dvinin, with Gennadiy Arkadiyevich Shishkin, first deputy general manager of TASS, and IZVESTIYA political observer Vitaliy Ivanovich Kobysh]

[Text] [Dvinin] Hello, Comrades. It's been a busy week for news and events in various parts of the world. In Moscow it was announced that Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, is to pay an official friendly visit to Yugoslavia in the middle of this month. On Friday, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev had a meeting with Franz Muhri, Austrian Communist Party chairman. Among other things, they spoke in support of the more active contacts between Communist parties that are beginning to take shape, a feature of which is that new approaches are being worked out and meaning is being given to the newness of the processes which are taking place.

U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz visited a number of Near East countries, albeit without any tangible results regarding improving the situation in that region of tension. The 42d UN General Assembly session in New York resumed its work at the request of the Arab states, and condemned the arbitrary action of the U.S. authorities in relation to the PLO mission at the United Nations.

But the greatest interest continues to be concentrated on two issues: First, the outlook for nuclear disarmament in light of the Soviet-U.S. treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles; and second, the question of an Afghanistan settlement.

On 29 February a session of the preparatory commission, a working body of the Foreign Affairs Commission of both chambers of the USSR Supreme Soviet, was held in the Kremlin in the framework of the process of ratifying the treaty. The deputies acquainted themselves with the opinions of representatives of the public and of public organizations. I think you, Vitaliy Ivanovich, are the best person to begin our conversation on this subject, the more so since we can congratulate you on being elected a deputy chairman of the Soviet Peace Committee.

[Kobysh] Thank you very much. It's not an easy subject, because this problem—the most important problem of our time—has many aspects. Of course, the very fact that a treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles has been signed in Washington is an event of the very greatest importance. But, as you see, the passage of this treaty has come up against open or ill-concealed opposition in the United States and in several of the NATO countries. It doesn't suit everyone—not everyone likes it. But then, after all, a treaty can never please everyone. When you enter into a treaty, you always have to forego something. We've also foregone something. The glasnost and democratization that we're now experiencing, and the strength of which we are testing in practical matters, including our foreign policy, has shown that on this issue, too, our people, Soviet people, have a variety of quite different viewpoints, different approaches, different interpretations. That was one of the things that emerged in the course of the session of the commission which you mentioned. Not all our people—we receive a great many letters—are clear about why we should remove, and then destroy, more missiles than the United States. We are having to explain that it's a compromise; that in the wake of this treaty, which is of the utmost importance as a model for subsequent treaties, the United States may have to scrap a greater number of missiles of a certain type. We are setting ourselves the aim, and it's a realistic aim, of making a nuclear-free world by the 21st century. That is perfectly attainable, but we've got to struggle for it. Our people are doing all they can to reinforce Soviet foreign policy by their labor achievements and their successes with restructuring in the economic sphere. This has a very direct bearing on the foreign policy positions of the Soviet Union, and here, our people are united. We have various points of view on this treaty, but we all want a treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles to be adopted as a first step toward further destruction of nuclear weapons.

[Shishkin] That's certainly so, Vitaliy Ivanovich. The majority of sensible people throughout the world support the treaty precisely because it is the first concrete and practical step toward a nuclear-free world. But for that very reason, there's been a stepping-up of attacks on the treaty by those who are opposed to a cessation of the arms race—opposed to reducing, and eliminating altogether, the nuclear threat. You only have to look at the way NATO has of late been noticeably intensifying its militarist activities—the way they're rushing to organize so-called compensation for the missiles due to be scrapped under the treaty. They're planning a modernization and build-up of other types of nuclear armaments, too, especially at sea and in the air. Then we have British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher who is well-known to our listeners....

[Dvinin, interrupting]...And viewers.

[Shishkin] And viewers, yes. Declaring in a manner that brooks no contradiction: I am not in favor of a Europe free of nuclear weapons. That, I think, is the background against which we should view the session of the NATO Council at summit level that took place this week in Brussels.

[Dvinin] Sorry to interrupt you, Gennadiy Arkadiyevich. Of course, we must also not forget the background of public opinion, which I think also had a certain influence on that session...

[Kobysh, interrupting] Probably even a decisive influence.

[Shishkin] Yes. In any case, it is not just in the Soviet Union and the United States that the treaty has influenced people's frame of mind. I'll just take a few recent facts from public life, politics, and economics that have had a certain resonance in those spheres: They all indicate there has been a definite improvement in the international situation. Remember, just very recently there was the meeting of the foreign ministers of the six Balkan countries, which passed in such a constructive spirit, and at which there was discussion not only of cooperation but also of the prospects for creating in that region a zone free of nuclear and chemical weapons. Yet this is a region that has long had the reputation of being the powder-keg of Europe. Suddenly, for the first time, a meeting of this kind takes place.

An example, perhaps, from another area: In Switzerland, the Soviet bank for external economic ties offered bonds to the value of 100 million Swiss francs—loan bonds. And although the Swiss bankers are known for their caution, all the bonds were sold literally in 4 days—100 million Swiss francs' worth!

Or to take something that is quite small, perhaps, in scale: the Soviet Army ensemble recently gave a concert at the Vatican in the presence of the Pope. That famous choir sang with great success at the Vatican.

[Kobysh] Well, while we are on the subject of examples of goodwill on the partY of ordinary people, and not so ordinary people, I cannot, of course, resist mentioning something I have just witnessed in the United States, where there was a huge delegation—the first one of its size—from the Soviet Peace Council: 100 people, from cosmonauts and famous scientists to the metropolitan and other priests. We were truly immersed in the brotherly embraces of the U.S. peace supporters and opponents of nuclear weapons. We realized that this was not the whole of the United States, that this was the best part of it; yet they're very active, their opinion is listened to—and we managed to get no less than 200 projects—joint Soviet-U.S. projects—of all kinds, from such very simple things as the sale in the USSR and the United States of t-shirts bearing peace symbols to projects for a joint flight to Mars by Soviet and U.S. cosmonauts.

[Shishkin] Vitaliy Ivanovich, I do not think there will be any dispute at this table about the fact that there do exist in the world positive trends, and a desire in people for an easing of tension and the elimination of the nuclear threat. This, of course, made the work of the organizers of the Brussels session of the NATO Council more difficult....

[Dvinin, interrupting] And aroused greater interest in it.

[Shishkin] Certainly! It should be said that the organizers of NATO were at pains to make this an event of more than ordinary importance. All the heads of state and government were invited. All this was done in order, first, to push through the organizers' main objective and idea: namely, to foist on NATO the idea and plan of modernizing NATO's so-called tactical nuclear forces in Europe. The forces in question are the nuclear weapons with a range of less than 500 km. The second task was to mobilize NATO generally for compensation of various kinds—above all, for a build-up of conventional armed forces. The third task was to damp down the positive tendencies and the positive response evoked all over the world by the Soviet Union's new thinking, the new Soviet foreign policy initiatives, and the new approach to the business in hand on the international scene. But it already became clear in the process of preparation that there was no longer any unity in NATO, for the very reason that NATO was feeling the pressure of these great social and popular forces. The open and active adherents of the up-grading of NATO's arms were the United States and Britain. West Germany was against it. Why? Because it has on its territory the 4,500—according to the estimates of Western experts—nuclear warheads belonging to the missiles which NATO is about to modernize. The Germans, of course, fear their country will turn into an arena of military conflict....

[Kobysh, interrupting] Well, possibly for different reasons, the French have also not supported the idea of modernizing the tactical missiles.... [Shishkin, interrupting] Quite right—to say nothing of the minor NATO countries. Thus, even before the session began, it had become clear that modernization was not a possibility. It was then that they set about looking for an ersatz, a replacement, a solution in which the NATO leaders had an interest. Naturally—as always in such cases—the solution the organizers of NATO found was the same old notorious Soviet threat. Once again, it was Margaret Thatcher who took the lead. Here's what the newspaper THE INDEPENDENT wrote this week: Thatcher is now beginning to worry that in the age of glasnost, summit meetings, and arms control, it is becoming difficult to get people to take the Soviet threat seriously. In Thatcher's words, the impression of reasonableness, the desire to reduce tension and rid the world of nuclear weapons is having an obvious effect on public opinion in the West.

[Kobysh] Well, and now, of course, they have an old—and at the same time new—warhorse, both political and propagandist, the myth that the Soviet Union has an overwhelming superiority in so-called conventional weapons. Here I think all the Western propaganda is playing the same tune. Yet serious military experts, including the British and the U.S. experts admit—once you start talking to them in a calm atmosphere free of propaganda exercises—that yes, a certain disproportion does exist, a certain imbalance, in particular types of armaments, but if you take...

[Shishkin, interrupting] What the military men call an asymmetry.

[Kobysh] Asymmetry, yes—a lack of symmetry. But if you take these armaments as a whole, then a balance exists, and the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact have no military superiority over the United States and NATO, respectively. Therefore, this is no more than a deception.

[Shishkin] Of course it's easy to deceive the lay reader if you've got a newspaper with a mass circulation, selling millions of copies. That's true. But there's another issue here, and that is that both the Soviet Union and the other Warsaw Pact countries have repeatedly and publicly said: Very well, let's sit down and spread out these assymetries, put them on the table, sort them out, and make reductions! Our practical proposals on this score have been on the table at the Vienna talks for a very long time. But the Vienna talks have been going since 1973, and still haven't moved forward a millimeter.

Why? It's because the NATO leaders are interested in something else. They are interested in preserving this enemy image, the image of a hostile, threatening Soviet Union, which they need to improve their military machine.

[Kobysh] But in the United States they are now saying openly that these treaties are all, so to speak, splendid, and they will all work, but after that the United States will engage in work on perfecting so-called intelligent weapons—conventional, intelligent weapons. In other words, we are dealing with a completely new spiral in the arms race, which will, perhaps, be even more ruinous than the nuclear arms race.

[Dvinin] And lucrative for somebody.

[Kobysh] Very profitable for somebody.

[Shishkin] Meanwhile, for the public—I have in front of me one of the main documents from the session in Brussels, the NATO statement on conventional arms—meanwhile, for the public it says that the chief threat to peace is supposedly represented by the Soviet Union, which possesses an enormous superiority in conventional weapons; and that, to eliminate that threat and the threat of a sudden attack, it is necessary to achieve a sharp unilateral reduction in the USSR's armed forces. This is what NATO is proposing: let the Warsaw Pact destroy tens of thousands of their tanks and artillery pieces unilaterally, while we sit back and applaud and invent these intelligent types of weaponry.

[Dvinin] Well, in general, if we may sum up this part of our conversation, we can say that, although we are dealing with very new weaponry here, on NATO's side it is a relapse into the most traditionally old thinking. That's all it is.

[Shishkin] I would just like to add to this that, all the same, what we have been talking about—the new atmosphere, the powerful influence being exerted on world public opinion, on the peoples of all countries, by our new policy, new thinking and concrete steps to curb the nuclear danger—that all this has not passed NATO by, and has exerted a certain influence. Firstly, it was obliged, whether with or without enthusiasm, to note as the first point in its final communique that it welcomes the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles. Secondly, again whether or not it did so sincerely, it was compelled to note as the second point that it supports the Soviet-U.S. negotiations and the aim of a 50-percent reduction of strategic nuclear arms. Of course, it is possible that some NATO members did not do this sincerely: I am reminded in this connection of President Reagan's recent interview with THE WASHINGTON POST in which he stated that he takes a pessimistic view of the possibility of drawing up a draft treaty for his forthcoming visit to Moscow at the end of May or the beginning of June this year.

[Kobysh] Here, I am afraid, the question arises of domestic U.S. politics, which is now being practiced against the background of the election campaign in the United States. My opinion is that it was aimed at the far right, those who are in the U.S. outback and still living in the past. But life goes on, and things have moved forward in general, on a broad front and in various directions, including the solution of regional problems, which are extraordinarily bitter and dangerous for the cause of the peace and security of the peoples.

[Dvinin] Of these problems, I think the issue of a settlement around Afghanistan is attracting the greatest attention, especially as another round of the negotiations between Afghanistan and Pakistan, with the mediation of Diego Cordovez, the personal representative of the UN secretary general, began on 2 March. These negotiations began in Geneva on Wednesday; and as Diego Cordovez stated at a news conference, he considers that, despite all the complicated and delicate character of these negotiations, this round could be decisive. It must be said that, indeed, many things had already been agreed before the start of this round, and, above all, the preparation of documents on various aspects of the settlement had been completed: Both the Afghan-Pakistani agreement on noninterference in each other's internal affairs and the return of the Afghan refugees from Pakistan, and the document on international guarantees of noninterference in the internal affairs of the Republic of Afghanistan—as is known, the guarantors here are the USSR and the United States—and the document on the interrelated nature of all elements of the political settlement. An accord had also been reached on setting up a verification [kontrol] mechanism. A deadline and timetable for the withdrawal of the Soviet forces had been submitted as the main condition on the part of Pakistan. But, as is known, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's statement of 8 February dotted all i's here: That deadline was defined—the start of the withdrawal would be on 15 May 1988 on the condition that the agreements on the settlement were signed by 15 March. It seemed that

everything had been prepared to ensure that the round of negotiations should proceed and be concluded successfully. There appeared, however, certain new elements here which make one cautious.

[Kobysh] Valentin Fedorovich, I would like to stress especially the position of Afghanistan itself in this regard. For example, Foreign Minister Wakil has emphasized publicly that the Afghan side does not intend to put forward any new demands which could hamper the negotiations. We are convinced, he said, that the settlement of the situation around Afghanistan—that is to say, the solution of the external aspects of the problem—will also give an additional impetus to the solution of the internal problems, on which the opponents of a settlement are now laying emphasis. Indeed, in the meantime, the policy of national reconciliation, which has been pursued for a long time already...

[Dvinin, interrupting] ...over a year.

[Kobysh]...In Kabul, has been yielding tangible results. It is receiving a positive reaction from a number of opposition groups operating in Afghanistan. At present, according to official data, more than 40,000 participants in armed operations have ceased their resistance and agreed to take part in the reconciliation process. So what is the matter, properly speaking? Why has Pakistan now put forward such absolutely incomrehensible demands as, for instance, a demand to form some government outside Afghanistan, to call it a transitional government, and to bring it over to Kabul and establish it there before accords are signed and the withdrawal of the Soviet troops begins? Yet, the issue of forming a coalition government—which was suggested by the Kabul government—is a matter for the Afghan people themselves. Nobody from outside, no foreign or other state has a right to interfere with it or impose its methods.

[Dvinin] If the Pakistani side proceeds from this, then one can, indeed, look forward with optimism to the possible results of another round, and perhaps it will become the last round of the Pakistani-Afghan talks. But for this one should show, here too, sober thinking and realism.

[Shishkin] In my view, one has still to overcome the resistance of very influential forces which are not even in Pakistan but overseas. The methods they resort to...

[Dvinin, interrupting] You mean the resolution adopted by the Senate?

[Shishkin] Yes, both the resolution adopted by the Senate and, say, the prank of the so-called Freedom House—there is such a right-wing and very reactionary organization in the United States. It has put into circulation a fabrication to the effect that the Soviet proposal concerning the withdrawal of its troops is allegedly a cunning maneuver aimed at duping the West and that Moscow intends, no more no less, to disguise its soldiers and officers, natives of Soviet Central Asia, as Afghans and, having provided them with Afghan documents, leave them secretly in Afghanistan. All this sounds like ravings...

[Kobysh, interrupting] All this, of course, is aimed at absolutely ignorant people who are far from politics. In other words, in politics this is called kindergarten stuff.

[Dvinin] But there are toys for fairly grown-up people there...

[Kobysh, interrupting] Yes, for the grown-ups.

[Dvinin] In any case, the Senate resolution which we have been talking about envisions demands not to suspend, not to stop, not to reduce or limit aid to the Afghan resistance from the United States until, as the resolution says, it becomes absolutely clear that the Soviets have stopped their military occupation and the Afghan rebel forces have been equipped well enough to preserve integrity in a transitional period.

[Kobysh] Do you know why else certain forces both in the United States and not only in the United states are so much against this settlement, a settlement in Afghanistan? Because there, if a settlement takes place—and it will take place sooner or later—a pattern for settling regional conflicts in other continents or parts of the world—the Near Sast, southern Africa, or Central America—will be created. All these are most acute problems, and very much depends on how the United States and Washington will behave there. Now, look at what is happening in Central America. Attempts were made, at the time, to strangle Cuba, but they failed. Attempts were made to strangle Nicaragua but failed. Little Grenada was gobbled up—a success and a great victory for U.S. arms. Now they have started to corner Panama: Look at the ugly, bullying, and brazen way it is being done. Attempts are being made to strangle Free Panama, to abrogate the decisions of the National Assembly. And all this only because Panama wants to be free and to be the master of the canal that passes through its territory.

[Dvinin] Yes, they have failed to fulfill the directive to remove the Panamanian commander in chief—and economic sanctions follow right away. The question of not paying even fees for ships passing through the Panama Canal is being examined immediately.

[Kobysh] After that they say the Soviet Union and other socialist countries are inciting popular unrest in these regions and countries. They themselves are now creating explosive situations. So, if one casts an attentive glance, it transpires that these have been brought about, first of all, by the United States—take the Near East, Central America, or other regions.

[Dvinin] On the whole, summing up our discussion today, one may say that only a realistic approach and solutions from the standpoint of the new thinking open a

path toward settling existing conflicts and the prospect of a stronger and more stable peace. With this, I think, we can end or program. Thanks to our listeners for their attention, and congratulations to our women listeners on the approaching 8 March holiday. Good-bye, and all the best to you.

He said those problems were mostly procedural matters and there were no deep and fundamental contradictions left.

Gerasimov Denies Missile Supplies to Iran, Iraq

LD062015 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1500 GMT 6 Mar 88

[From the "International Panorama" program, presented by Gennadiy Gerasimov]

[Text] During the past week, there has been a new flareup in the war of the cities, as it is called in the war between Iran and Iraq. Over a 4-day period, 254 missiles were launched from Iraq against Tehran and Qom, and during the same period 11 missiles were launched from Iran against Baghdad. Firing on towns makes the conflict worse and makes its peaceful resolution still more remote.

Attempts are being made to make it appear that the Soviet Union has some relevance to this. That is not the case. The Soviet Union has not provided either side with weaponry for delivering missile strikes and, most certainly has in no way sanctioned them. On the contrary, in both our contacts with Iraq and Iran, we invariably call on the leaders of these countries to show restraint and to seek ways of resolving the conflict at the negotiating table, not at their rocket launchers.

Gerasimov Cited on Economic Aid to Nicaragua

PM041425 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Mar 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Meeting With Journalists"]

[Excerpts] Judging by everything, the participants in the NATO Council session in Brussels are assessing on its merits the signing in Washington of the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, G. Gerasimov, USSR Foreign Ministry Information Administration chief, stated at a 3 March briefing. [passage omitted]

An answer was given at the briefing to a question from Western journalists about the economic aid which the USSR gives Nicaragua. This aid is provided under existing agreements between the USSR and Nicaragua and is of a stable nature. As for military aid to Nicaragua from the USSR, it is well known that during his summit talks in Washington M.S. Gorbachev proposed sharp cuts in both sides' arms shipments to Central American countries, as well as to contra formations. [passage omitted]

CC Sends Women's Day Congratulations

LD070706 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0639 GMT 7 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow, 7 Mar (TASS)—The CPSU Central Committee has cordially congratulated Soviet women on International Women's Day.

The greetings note that constant attention to improving the conditions of work and leisure of Soviet women, to building housing, schools, kindergartens, and day care centers and polyclinics and to safeguarding the health of mother and child, have been main orientations of the policy of the party and state.

The socialist society has need of a high level of culture and decency in human relations and of a strong family. It is concentrating its efforts upon the upbringing of worthy successors. Women have an irreplaceable role in renewing the spiritual and moral atmosphere of society.

In the new international situation which is emerging, the mass movement of female champions of peace is becoming an increasingly influential force. The greetings point out that Soviet women are making a weighty contribution toward the realization of the Soviet program for mankind's progression to a world without nuclear weapons.

Baku Officials Attend Meeting

NC070923 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0440 GMT 6 Mar 88

[From the republican press review]

[Text] The ceremonious meeting [date not given] held at the Muslim Magomayev State Philarmonic Hall of Azerbaijan in honor of International Women's Day heard a report by Elmira Kafarova, Azerbaijan Council of Ministers deputy chairman.

The following attended the ceremonious meeting: Svetlana Kasumova, Vasiliy Konovaleov, and Ramiz Mekhtiyev [secretaries of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee], and Fuad Musayev and Artur Rasi-Zade [members of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Comiittee]

Sports Official on Drug Testing, Steroids

PM041455 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 9 28 Feb 88 p 15

[Interview with Soviet drugs testing expert Vitaliy Semenov by Mark Vodovozov: "Testing for Drugs"]

[Text] Testing athletes for drugs has become standard practice before any major sports event, and the 1988 Summer Olympics in Seoul—where a drug-testing centre was recently accredited—is no exception. For the first time ever, the accreditation was conducted by Soviet

experts, including Vitaliy Semenov, head of Moscow's medical centre devoted to drug testing. Our correspondent interviewed Semenov on his return from Seoul.

MN: Was this serious assignment from the international Olympic Committee a recognition of Soviet research in drug testing?

V.S.: We have built up some experience in this field. The Moscow centre was set up a year before the 1980 Olympics. Since then we've conducted drug tests at a variety of competitions—without a single mistake. We also passed all the tests of a special IOC medical commission with flying colours.

MN: Is international accreditation becoming the norm?

V.S.: Yes, there are 18 drug-testing centres in the world with international accreditation. Every two years they are rechecked to make sure standards are maintained. The checking includes the centre's personnel, its medical equipment and, most important, a test of ten samples containing from ten to 30 different types of drugs or they by-products. If one of them is not detected, the centre is deprived of its accreditation—domestic and international. Therefore, all centres, thanks to the IOC, are always working to maintain standards.

MN: Are checks every two years enough?

V.S.: Not always. During the last IOC check in January 1987, two centres in Brisbane (Australia) and Sarajevo (Yugoslavia)—did not meet the requirements and were deprived of their accreditation.

MN: Does the increasingly sophiscated equipment at drug-testing centres and the IOC's vigilance mean that drug addiction among athletes is on the rise?

V.S.: According to the latest statistics from the international centres, two percent of all tests are positive. Unfortunately, the tests of two Soviet athletes were among them last year.

MN: Out of a total of how many tests?

V.S.: About 25,000

MN: But drug tests are conducted at competitions selectively. In analyzing the data obtained one cannot discount the factor of luck. There may be athletes who have gone against drug regulations, who have also gone unpunished once or twice.

V.S.: That's true. But only for a certain time. Such "luck" usually ends with a big scandal and disqualification.

MN: Are there many Soviet athletes who have abused drugs registered at the Moscow centre?

V.S.: Last year, 0.12 per cent of all tests proved positive. Formerly, cyclists were the greatest abusers of drugs. Today the situation in cycling as well as in rowing and team sports has considerably improved. This cannot be said for track-and-field and weightlifting.

MN: What, in your opinion, makes sportsmen resort to such risky methods of improving their showings?

V.S.: First of all, such an offence is categorically unjustified. The goal, no matter how cherished, cannot be achieved by breaking the rules of morality and the ethics of a fair play.

Athletes explain their behaviour in different ways. Some claim ignorance, alleging that they took the stimulant during treatment and did not know it contained banned substances. Other athletes couldn't improve their results, but wanted very much to get onto the team: So they took anabolic steriods. In one of his public addresses, weightlifter Yuriy Vlasov said that apart from coaches who teach there are also coaches who act as pharmacologists. For five years, drug tests have been conducted not only at weightlifting competitions, but also at training sessions. Often the results showed that weightlifters were using stimulants—and they were disqualified.

MN: The list of banned stimulants now includes preparations used to disguise anabolic steriods....

V.S.: So called diuretics. They help flush anabolic steriods out of the system as quickly as possible. We have come across such cases. Naturally the suspicion arises: Why does a swimmer or an athlete in good condition need to take diuretics?

MN: Until recently the use of anabolic steriods was considered an anomaly in big-time sports. But then the foreign press carried a report by West German Dr M. Donike, saying that steriods are frequently used by body-builders.

V.S.: In the West, anabolic steriods are indeed used by body-builders, and they make no secret of this. In New York, I saw them walking around in T-shirts with the lettering: "Dianabol is the breakfast of champion body-builders." Drug testing of body-builders was conducted for the first time at the world championship in Japan last year. In some cases anabolic steriods were detected.

MN: What about in our country?

V.S.: Steriods are not a big problem here, but—several years ago, we got a call from a sports prophylactic centre. Students from a nearby institute had been coming in with ampoules—with the labels removed—and asking to be given injections. When we checked the content it turned out that the ampoules contained retabolil.... Recently, with the regional sports prophylactic centre, we examined several groups of youngsters from Lyubertsy (a town in the Moscow region): amateur gymnasts.

The tests revealed that some were using considerable amounts of anabolic steriods.... It turned out that the parents of some of the boys had bought these preparations for them.

What's going on? In think we should look for the answer in the children's school sports programmes. Thousands of youngsters drop out because of being "unpromising," "non-sportive" and so on. But every teenager wants to build up muscles as quickly as possible. So they devour the "miraculous" preparations, not realizing their destructive powers—just like more experienced athletes.

MN: Are steriods very harmful?

V.S.: The information available at the Moscow centre is alarming. Taken from a young age anabolic steriods could lead to sterility.

MN: In that case, research in drug testing must be expanded? Isn't that so?

V.S.: Certainly. We physicians intend to carry out this work at the drug-testing centres, in addition to normal duties. In the long run, I think a good prevention programme would be the best antidote.

United States & Canada

Reportage on Shultz Middle East Trip

Arrival in Damascus

LD041950 Moscow TASS in English 1937 GMT 4 Mar 88

[Text] Damascus March 4 TASS—U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz arrived here this afternoon. The SANA news agency reports that he will hold talks with Syrian leaders on questions of the Middle-East settlement. The Syrian press notes that by all indications, the U.S. representative has not brought any fresh ideas this time, either.

Departure From Damascus

LD042243 Moscow TASS in English 2216 GMT 4 Mar 88

[Text] Damascus March 4 TASS—SANA news agency reported that U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz left the Syrian capital today after a short visit during which he had been received by President of the Syrian Arab Republic Hafiz al-Asad. SANA news agency reported that George Shultz had handed over to Hafiz al-Asad a message from President of the United States Ronald Reagan. The message had formulated up a complex of American views on the ways of establishing peace in the region, the news agency reported. The American representative had asked the Syrian side to study the message and give a reply.

Return to Washington

LD052215 Moscow TASS in English 2118 GMT 5 Mar 88

[Text] Washington March 5 TASS—U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz returned to the U.S. capital today after a tour of the Middle East during which he visited Syria, Jordan, Egypt, and Israel.

All in all, the tour continued for nine days. However, it was interrupted in view of Mr Shultz's visits to London and then to Brussels to attend the NATO summit.

Addressing journalists on Friday, Mr. Shultz said that during talks with the leaders of Arab countries and Israel he had delivered to them the message which contains a detailed description of a new American plan for a Mid-East settlement.

The United States expects that a reply to the initiative will be given to it within ten days, i.e. by the time Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir begins his visit to Washington. During the visit the allies intend to work out joint actions in the region for the purpose of ensuring, first of all, their own strategic interest there.

Although no official replies to the U.S. "new" Middle East plan have come so far, the U.S. press states that on the whole it was viewed sceptically in the Arab East. Arab analysts have already dubbed it a 'renovated Camp David', first of all, because it does not envisage effective and specific measures to secure the inalienable right of the Arab people of Palestine to self-determination right up to the establishment of an independent state of its own.

U.S. To Reuse Warheads From Scrapped Missiles

LD041130 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0720 GMT 4 Mar 88

[Text] Washington, 4 March—TASS correspondent Igor Ignatyev reports:

Robert Barker, assistant secretary of defense for atomic energy, has for the first time given official confirmation of the Pentagon's plans to use the nuclear warheads from U.S. intermediate-range missiles to equip weapons systems which are not subject to the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles. However, according to the protocol to the INF Treaty signed at the December summit meeting: "In addition to the missiles, their nuclear warheads are also subject to elimination, including the 72 U.S. warheads intended for the West German Pershing-1A missiles." It goes on to say that the "body of the missile nosecone is to be crushed in a press and the nuclear charge is to be handed over for further use".

Speaking at hearings in the Armed Services Committee of the House of Representatives on Wednesday, Barker stressed the Pentagon's "desire to preserve these warheads as they are, without dismantling them." In his words, the reuse of the warheads from the intermediate-range missiles would save from $500 million to $1 billion on the dismantling and the production of new warheads using the remaining components.

The well-known U.S. specialists Thomas Cochrane, William Arkin and Robert Norris point out that the W-84 warheads, with which the U.S. ground-launched cruise missiles deployed in Western Europe are equipped, can fit the sea-launched cruise missiles which already exist in the United States or are planned for production (the tenets of the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles do not apply to them). The U.S. possesses 300 warheads of this type. But the W-85 warheads, with which the Pershing-2 first-strike missiles are equipped, can, scientists say, be fitted for use in other ballistic missiles, although certain alterations in design may have to be made. Quoting sources in the Senate, the WASHINGTON TIMES reports that "Pershing-2" warheads may be used for a new system of armaments which the administration wishes to use to replace the tactical "Lance" missiles.

Baker Says Strategic Treaty Possible This Year
LD041656 Moscow TASS in English 1557 GMT 4 Mar 88

[Text] New York March 4 TASS—White House Chief of Staff Howard Baker said in an NBC interview that the successful conclusion of the treaty on intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles and prospects for drafting the agreement on strategic arms can be described as almost brilliant. He said major progress had been achieved which in his opinion created a tendency increasing the chances that an attempt could be made in the near future to try remove the disproportions between the forces of the Warsaw treaty countries and NATO.

When a correspondent of the television network recalled President Reagan's pronouncement that there was little likelihood of achieving the Soviet-American treaty on strategic offensive arms during the term of the current administration, Baker said that as far as he remembered the President had said that it would apparently be unrealistic to hope that the agreement could be prepared for the signing in Moscow early in spring. But Baker said that the treaty can perhaps be prepared for the signing. He said he would be glad to it [as received] and he knew that the President would be glad to have a document on strategic armaments ready by that time. But this is a very complicated document, particularly as regards verification, Howard Baker said.

Burns Approved as Arms Control Agency Head
LD051211 Moscow TASS in English 1154 GMT 5 Mar 88

[Text] Washington March 5 TASS—On Friday the U.S. Senate approved the appointment of Major General William Burns director of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. He replaced at this post Kenneth Adelman who had retired last December. In the past years Burns was U.S. deputy assistant secretary of state for the Bureau of Politico-Military Affairs. According to U.S. press reports, he participated in drafting the Soviet-American Treaty on Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles.

Washington's 'Anti-Panama Actions' Criticized
LD052224 Moscow TASS in English 2112 GMT 5 Mar 88

[Text] Washington March 5 TASS—The American CBS TV network reported that the Reagan administration had decided against making monthly payments to Panama to the tune of seven million dollars for the use of the Panama Canal.

Officials say that the money will be put on a bank account 'until constitutional government is restored in Panama'. CBS points out that at the same time the White House, in an attempt to complicate the country's economic position still further, urged international banks and other financial organizations not to grant loans to the present Panamanian authorities. Panamanian assets in U.S. banks have been frozen.

Virtually not a day passes without reports on U.S. new economic sanctions against Panama, the sanctions which are overtly aimed at destabilizing the situation in that Latin American country.

The NBC TV network points out directly that by barring the Panamanian Government from U.S. dollars which are used there as national currency the White House expects to provoke unrest in that country.

Washington's anti-Panama actions assume an overtly provocative character. The ASSOCIATED PRESS (AP) news agency has reported that about 600 servicemen of the U.S. National Guard will be additionally brought to U.S. military facilities in the Panama Canal Zone in the coming days on the plea of holding exercises. AP points out that there are now about 10,000 U.S. officers and men in the Canal Zone. At the same time Phyllis Oakley, official spokeswoman for the U.S. Department of State, announced at a briefing the State Department's decision to recommend that American citizens not make trips to Panama.

The Senate Foreign Relations Committee passed a resolution urging the Reagan administration to work out additional economic sanctions against Panama. The resolution is being considered by the Senate along with yet another draft resolution which urges president Reagan not to implement the provisions of the Panama Canal Treaties which envisage withdrawal of U.S. troops from the Canal Zone.

Washington's interference in the internal affairs of Panama is being effected on the plea of 'fighting international narcobusiness' in which, as the United States asserts, General Noriega, commander-in-chief of the National Defence Forces of Panama, is allegedly involved. The extraordinary zeal being shown in this question by the White House looks more than strange, considering that characters involved in the scandalous Iran-contra operation are still at large in the United States. The investigation of the operation made it possible to reveal the CIA's secret contacts with narcotics smugglers. The Reagan administration obviously tries to forget about the exposes.

Playing on the sentiments of the U.S. public that is profoundly concerned over the problem of narcotics, Washington in every way tries to divert its attention from the principal goal of its anti-Panama actions which are aimed at frustrating the implementation of the Panama Canal Treaties which make it binding upon the United States to hand the inter-ocean waterway back to its true owner—Panama—by the year 2000.

Mexico City March 5 TASS—The Panamanian people will not yield to the U.S. pressure, stated general Manuel Antonio Noriega, commander-in-chief of the National Defence Forces of Panama.

In an interview with the Mexican newspaper EXCELSIOR, he emphasized Panama's intention to secure the transfer of the interocean canal to Panama by the year 2000 despite U.S. attempts at foiling the implementation of the Panamanian-U.S. treaties.

House Votes Down Humanitarian Aid to Contras

LD041226 Moscow TASS in English 1120 GMT 4 Mar 88

[Text] Washington March 4 TASS—The House of Representatives of the U.S. Congress on Thursday voted 216 to 208 against a plan to allocate 30 million dollars in "humanitarian" aid to Nicaraguan contras.

The plan was defeated by those who support President Reagan (as the package did not provide for direct military aid) and those who are opposed to any aid to the contras.

Earlier, the House rejected the administration's request for 36.2 million dollars in contra aid, including arms.

Contra aid was suspended on February 29 until Congress decides to resume it.

The House Democratic leadership could not but have taken into account the growing opposition in the country to continued military support for Nicaraguan counterrevolutionaries.

This is why they had offered a "purely humanitarian" package of aid.

At the same time, this package and the package of the Republicans, which was also "humanitarian" but included additional supplies of helicopters, spares for armaments and so on, were intended to keep the contras afloat for waging an undeclared war against sovereign Nicaragua.

Irangate Suppressed To Try To Get Contra Aid

LD042241 Moscow TASS in English 2215 GMT 4 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 4 TASS—TASS Observer Dmitriy Yakubov writes:

The House of Representatives of U.S. Congress has rejected a proposal on further rendering financial assistance to Nicaraguan contras despite the fact that James Wright, speaker of the House of Representatives and the main author of the proposal that was put to voting, did all his best to convince congressmen that the purpose of the plan was the rendering of purely 'humanitarian aid'. One could suppose that U.S. congressmen have come to realize, although the proposal was rejected by a narrow margin, that further financial assistance to the contras can only aggravate the peaceful settlement process started in Nicaragua. This was probably the reason for the recent refusal by Congress to approve the President's proposal on the financing of military assistance to Nicaraguan contras.

The decision of Congress will undoubtedly be met with understanding by those Americans who display an unbiassed attitude to the developments in Nicaragua. At the same time, the stand of James Wright on this question seems to be rather strange.

He actively opposed the President's proposals on the rendering of military assistance to the contras. Thus, he should have realized that any assistance to the contras whose purpose is to keep them afloat can only make more complicated the peaceful settlement processes. Moreover, he should have known better than anybody else all the details of tthe investigation into the Irangate scandal. It showed that in its desire to support the counterrevolutionary forces in Nicaragua the White House repeatedly violated resolutions of the Congress, U.S. laws and even the U.S. Constitution. However, the draft plan of rendering financial assistance to the contras drawn up with his active assistance and put by him to the vote looked as though the Irangate scandal had never existed. As though there had never been any such scandal in Washington, the biggest political scandal in the past several years. His stand looks especially strange in the setting of reports of the U.S. press to the effect that the White House decided to publish only part of the documents connected with the investigation into the Irangate scandal. Evidence of a number of witnesses will be concealed from the public, many verbatim records will be improved. The names of senior officials of the administration will be removed from them, so that not a hint would be left of their participation in the scandal.

The Washington administration seeks to make Americans forget as soon as possible about the unseemly Iran-contras affair. Perhaps, zigzags in Wright's stand on the financing of the contras also further this aim.

Reagan Continues To Press for Contra Aid

LD051800 Moscow TASS in English 1717 GMT 5 Mar 88

[Text] Washington March 5 TASS—The day after the House of Representatives had rejected the plan for the granting of "humanitarian aid" to armed units of the Nicaraguan counterrevolutionaries, President Ronald Reagan said that he was going to continue to press for the preservation of the contras. In a special statement he asked the Congress to draft and endorse a new plan of aid to the counterrevolutionaries. It follows from the statement of the head of the White House that Washington has a plan of creating an effective system of aid to the Somoza men if the process of a peaceful settlement in

Central America fails. As is known, it is precisely the United States that tries to torpedo that process and plunge the region into a large-scale military conflict.

THE WASHINGTON POST notes that a recent voting in the House of Representatives on the plan of granting aid to the contras shows how difficult it will be for the Congress to work out a compromise stand on this disputed matter. It also shows that this political impasse can be preserved over many months. But the administration, as the President's call shows, is clearly not prepared to tolerate a political stalemate over the question of financing the undeclared war against Nicaragua. It was already reported that the administration is studying the possibility of sending equipment to mercenary units of contras via "third countries", in case of the congressional resistance to the granting of aid to contras.

Reagan's statement about the support for the contras coincided with a statement of a group of senators—Republicans and Democrats—that they will try to work out as soon as possible a new draft law on aid to the contras. Senator Richard Lugar said that such a draft law can be prepared as early as next week.

China

Shakov Comments on Wu Xueqian's U.S. Visit

OW031057 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0100 GMT 3 Mar 88

[Shakov commentary]

[Text] Wu Xueqian, Chinese foreign minister, began a week-long visit to the United States on Wednesday 2 March. During his visit, he will meet with President Reagan and other senior U.S. officials. On this, our station commentator Shakov writes the following:

On the eve of the Sino-U.S. talks, the U.S. press has published much on various aspects of U.S.-Chinese relations. AP pointed out that Wu Xueqian's visit testifies to the importance of developing ties between the two countries, but added that problems have emerged in bilateral relations because the U.S. Congress adopted a resolution on a certain question. The Chinese side believes that the adoption of the resolution constitutes an unlawful interference in China's internal affairs. Despite Beijing's protest, Washington has continued the hue and cry over the question heightening friction between the two countries.

The so-called Taiwan question is another obstacle to normal development of Sino-U.S. relations. Although the United States acknowledges that Taiwan is part of China and promises to reduce its arms supply to Taipei, it has failed to do so. U.S. arms sales to Taiwan reach $700 million annually. The U.S. press believes that U.S. arms supply to Taiwan has darkened prospects for Sino-U.S. relations. However, Washington does not intend to give up Beijing's so-called two-China policy in the near future. Also, Washington has taken discriminatory measures against imports from China. U.S. authorities have created numerous impediments to marketing Chinese goods in the United States. Thus, China has an extremely unfavorable trade balance with the United States.

Moreover, Washington has exerted pressure on Japan to reduce its trade with China under the pretext of the so-called Toshiba incident, alleging that this Japanese firm had broken the U.S. trade embargo with the socialist countries.

Moscow Beijing Hotel Joint Venture Signed

OW051233 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0100 GMT 3 Mar 88

[Excerpts] The Soviet Union and China have signed a contract in Moscow on joint management of the Beijing Hotel in Moscow in the near future. Signing the contract were (Maleshikov), director of the Public Catering Business Administration of the Moscow City Party Committee, and (Sun Jifu), representative of the Beijing International Economic Cooperation Company. The following is a report filed by station reporter Dmitriyev after witnessing the signing ceremony:

[Begin recording] [Dmitriyev] [passage omitted] (Maleshikov) and (Sun Jifu) spoke at the signing ceremony. (Maleshikov) said: [(Maleshikov) is briefly heard speaking in Russian fading into announcer's Mandarin] The negotiations were conducted in a comradely atmosphere of mutual understanding and assistance. The two sides are enthusiastic about this joint venture. We hope that the contract will help promote bilateral cooperation. Very soon Moscovites and visitors to the Soviet capital will have an opportunity to taste real Chinese cuisine at the Beijing Hotel.

(Sun Jifu) was thankful for the warm hospitality of his Soviet colleagues. He said: [(Sun)] We have been visiting Moscow according to the minutes of a meeting in Beijing between the mayors of Beijing and Moscow on 17 October 1987. The purpose of our visit is to enhance friendly ties and promote economic cooperation. During our 10-day stay, we conducted friendly talks [words indistinct], and accomplished what we came here for. We [words indistinct], and exchanged views on a comradely basis. China and the Soviet Union are great countries with rich resources and vast land. Bilateral cooperation, even in the catering business, can produce fruitful results. So long as we coordinate well, I believe this joint venture will be a great success. Good coordination is the key to success. In this joint venture, the Beijing International Economic Cooperation Company will serve genuine Chinese gourmet food at the hotel's Chinese restaurant. [end recording]

In answering reporters' questions, representatives from the two sides said that they have initially agreed on the form of cooperation for managing the hotel. More specific matters will be decided when a Soviet delegation visits Beijing in April or May of this year.

Northeast Asia

Biryukov Analyzes Japanese Military Plans

LD042209 Moscow TASS in English 2122 GMT 4 Mar 88

[Biryukov commentary]

[Text] Moscow March 4 TASS—TASS political news analyst Arkold Biryukov writes:

The Japanese military establishment draws up new and new [as received] plans the essence of which unwittingly makes one recall their analogues which emerged half a century ago during the preparation and unleashing of the Japanese aggression in the Asia-Pacific region. Just like at that time, the arrows of strategic plans are again directed in the "northern direction."

Speaking in parliament recently, Tsutomu Kawara, head of Japan's National Defence Agency, directly stated: "We show great concern for the defence of northern Japan."

According to the Japanese press, a just elaborated new defence plan deals with areas facing the Sea of Okhotsk. A cursory glance at the geographical map is enough to understand whom Tokyo intends to defend itself against.

YOMIURI SHIMBUN newspaper, which has obtained the latest plan of the Japanese military establishment, emphasizes that "the new defence plan envisages the creation of a bastion on Hokkaido." Over there it is planned to set up a "centre for defence operations" which are to be carried out "either by Japan alone or by Japan together with its allies," with emphasis being laid on a strategy which envisions deployments on forward positions and an active response.

It is not difficult to notice that the Japanese strategists' "defence" phraseology, like two peas in a pod, resembles the Pentagon one, and that the very probability of the start of military operations in the area has been copied from the Pentagon's concept of opening a "second front" in the Far East in the event of the start of a military conflict with the Soviet Union in the West.

The new Japanese plan speaks of "a great likelihood that any invasion of Japan would be connected with a crisis in the Middle East or in Western Europe." In this connection, the importance of giving a "timely aid" to U.S. troops in the event of such a situation is being emphasized. With this end in view it is planned to deploy armed forces and military materials in Hokkaido's north in advance, to concentrate there Japanese new-generation planes which by their combat characteristics would surpass U.S. F-16 fighter bombers which are the delivery vehicles of nuclear weapons, to deploy more than twenty submarines, to use the newest surface ships provided with the Aegis system for the multiple hitting of targets, and missile armament.

It must be recalled that in the parlance of the Japanese military figures the word "defence" by no means always corresponds to its proper meaning. On the contrary, rather. The new "defence" plan, for example, has it that "it would be ideal to draw the enemy into military operations in Wakkanai area" (Hokkaido's extremity opposite the Soviet island of Sakhalin).

In this connection one can also recall pronouncements by former Japanese prime minister Yasuhiro Nakasone that Tokyo, in case of "an emergency," was prepared to issue an order to its armed forces to conduct combat operations together with the Americans, including the delivery of strikes "deep in enemy's territory."

Neither should one forget the statement by Koichi Kato, former head of Japan's National Defence Agency, about the country's preparedness to conduct military operations independently or together with the Pentagon far beyond Japan's boundaries, and even if it is not attacked but would only "feel a threat from the outside." One cannot but recall the recent report by the Japanese Centre for Strategic Studies headed by Shin Kanemaru, a prominent figure of the ruling Liberal Democratic Party. The report mentions the need to increase Japan's contribution to the U.S. aggressive strategy in the Asia-Pacific region. The strategy envisages, in particular, an attack on Soviet naval and air bases, the landing of U.S. Marines on the Kurile Islands, on Sakhalin, Kamchatka, their occupation, and so on.

It is needless to say that all these plans cannot but give rise to concern among those against whom they are directed. The more striking are attempts by spokesmen for the Japanese Foreign Ministry to lay the blame at somebody else's door, and to speak of some Soviet military construction in the Far East, which, along with the Soviet Union's stand on the "territorial issue," ostensibly hinders progress in Soviet-Japanese relations.

Officials in Tokyo are stubbornly unwilling to notice the constructive stand of the Soviet Union with regard to its eastern neighbour. Tokyo does not respond to the Soviet Union's specific proposals, which are aimed at strengthening mutual understanding, trust and goodneighbourliness, and alleges that perestroyka in the Soviet Union does not apply to the USSR's policy with regard to Japan.

What aims are pursued by the authors of such assertions? At all events, not an improvement of the situation in the Far East or good development of Soviet-Japanese relations.

Kalinin on Japan's 'Bellicose' Military Plans

OW050427 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1000 GMT 3 Mar 88

[Military observer Kalinin commentary]

[Text] Listeners, YOMIURI SHIMBUN recently published part of a secret Defense Agency [DA] document on plans for Self-Defense Force [SDF] response to an emergency in Hokkaido. In this connection, military affairs observer Kalinin writes:

To justify its plans, the DA has brought up the pretext of preventing the menace of an invasion against Hokkaido. Considering Hokkaido's geographical location, it is not very difficult to understand where the menace of such an invasion comes from in the DA's viewpoint. Therein lies the explicit objective, to make believe that the Soviet Union has the intention to invade. In this connection, it is not futile to arouse attention to the following facts:

In a doctrine approved and issued by the member countries of the Warsaw Pact Organization last May, it is stated that the Soviet Union and its allies will never launch any armed action against any country or ally under any condition, unless they themselves are targets of armed attack. Needless to say, the Japanese DA is well aware of this fact. Under such circumstances, why is it necessary to fabricate a meaningless story that Hokkaido is threatened by an invasion from the Soviet Union?

The DA analysis that has been unveiled proves that in this case, an attempt to regard the Soviet Union as a hostile country is to create a pretext for its attempt to divert attention from Japan's military buildup program that has become more and more dangerous. The YOMIURI SHIMBUN reports that the DA plan stresses extending the defense line to an area off mainland Japan. For example, it is envisaged that a retaliatory attack be launched before enemy forces can fully use their fighting power. In other words, it means launching a first strike. However, there are innumerable instances in history when a first strike was used, under the pretext of defense, to start an invasion.

It is beyond any doubt that planning a first strike—despite the fact Japan is under no threat from any country—does not conform to Japan's stated objective of devoting iteself only to defense. The fac. that Japan is working toward building up its military capabilities in the northern area is also an indication of its military objective.

For example, a naval force buildup is expected. Under such circumstances, we cannot but think of its plan to build aircraft carriers. Until very recently, the DA regarded such vessels as part of an offensive weapons system.

As far as the air force is concerned, it has worked out plans to deploy more advanced aircraft and refueling aircraft in Hokkaido. The plans envisage Japanese air force planes taking combat action in Soviet coastal areas as well as in the Kurile Islands and on the Kamchatka Peninsula. Even the Japanese papers, not to mention military experts, have pointed out that such a scenario goes far beyond the framework of Japan's policy of devoting itself to only defense.

The ground forces have also been strengthened. According to the daily YOMIURI, it is expected that mobile marine forces will be organized. Naturally, a major feature of offensive operations is marine landing operations. In this connection, the DA's plan has a definite objective in creating combat capabilities; that is, to carry out positive offensive operations. Furthermore, such combat capabilities are strengthened in the very vicinity of the Soviet border.

Recently, Japanese Government leaders have frequently mentioned enforcing effective civilian control over the military authorities. In fact, however, there seems no way to put the brakes on the DA's bellicose plans.

Gusev Receives Japanese Businessmen

LD042257 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1536 GMT 4 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow, 4 Mar (TASS)—V.K. Gusev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, received Y. Komatsu, chairman of the board of Kobe Steel (Japan) and S. Kitamura, managing director of Nisse Iwai Corporation (Japan) on 3 March. Matters relating to cooperation in the chemical industry field were discussed.

Near East & South Asia

'Unruly Elements' Attack Missions in Iran

LD061824 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1745 GMT 6 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow, 6 Mar (TASS)—Today a crowd of unruly elements made an attempt to break into the grounds of the USSR Embassy in Tehran. The attackers threw stones at the embassy and used incendiary devices, endangering the lives of embassy officials and members of their families. Hostile actions also took place against the USSR's Consulate General in Esfahan. This was preceded by instigatory statements by certain of the Iranian mass media, which tried to ascribe to the Soviet Union responsibility for Iraq's current missile attacks on Tehran and other Iranian cities.

In connection with this, M. Qahrimani, the charge d'affaires of the Islamic Republic of Iran to the USSR, was summoned urgently by the leadership of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He was told that the Soviet leadership had been briefed about the situation concerning the USSR Embassy in Tehran. This situation is causing the Soviet leadership serious concern. We believe that the events which occurred outside the Soviet Embassy are completely intolerable, particularly as the Iranian side was informed in advance about our fears and it had sufficient time to bar illegal actions such as those which took place.

It was stressed with all firmness that the Iranian authorities should take the most urgent immediate measures to protect the USSR Embassy and other Soviet institutions in Iran, and stop the unrest and excesses. It was noted that behind all these actions stand forces who are not

suited by the normalization in Soviet-Iranian relations and who would like to cancel everything that has recently been done in these relations.

It was also stated that the Soviet leadership refutes all fabrications about USSR involvement in missile attacks on Tehran.

The charge d'affaires said that he would immediately report on the statements made to him to Iran.

By the end of today the situation around the USSR Embassy in Tehran was normal.

Iranians 'Striving' to Leave Country

LD042114 Moscow TASS in English 2025 GMT 4 Mar 88

[Text] Nicosia March 4 TASS—The Iranian news agency IRNA reported today that an Iraqi missile that had exploded in Tehran killed eight people, including four children. In retaliation, Iran fired another missile on Baghdad. IRNA notes that in the five days of the "war of the cities" 80 people were killed and 200 wounded as a result of Iraq's missile strikes on Tehran.

Foreign witnesses say that at least 40 per cent of the population of Tehran's central quarters have left their dwellings. Thousands of people in Tehran are striving to leave the country and try to get air tickets.

Afghan-Pakistan Talks Continue in Geneva

UN's Cordovez on Talks

LD041402 Moscow TASS in English 1338 GMT 4 Mar 88

[Text] Geneva March 4 TASS—The U.N. secretary-general's personal envoy to Afghan-Pakistani talks, Diego Cordovez, said today that a break till the morning of March 7 had been announced at the negotiations.

He said the negotiators had worked most actively and in a most businesslike atmosphere over the past three days and had been able to solve one of the more difficult problems.

He added that this had helped to increase trust. Cordovez said also that there was the political will to reach agreement and this would make it possible to continue the settlement process.

The U.N. secretary-general's envoy specially noted the importance of accord achieved over the past three days, which, he said, had made for a felicitous atmosphere for resolving the remaining problems.

He said those problems were mostly procedural matters and there were no deep and fundamental contradictions left.

Cordovez expressed the opinion that progress at the Geneva talks could facilitate changes in stands, in particular those of opposition Afghan groups, on the process of forming a broad-based government. He said all the sides concerned held practically the same opinion on this issue.

Cordovez added that differences remained in approaches to resolving it, but this was a matter for the Afghans themselves to decide, and that, he said, was another thing everybody agreed about.

Further on Najibullah Appeal

LD042356 Moscow TASS in English 2341 GMT 4 Mar 88

[Text] New York March 4 TASS—The following message of President Najibullah of the Republic of Afghanistan to the U.N. secretary general of March 2, 1988, was circulated today as an official document of the U.N. General Assembly and the Security Council:

"I am sure that you have familiarized yourself with the content of my statement and that of the statement of Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, of February 8 on the settlement of the situation around Afghanistan, which was cordially welcomed by the people of our country and by the peace-loving forces of the world. The statements of the Republic of Afghanistan and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics gave a positive answer to the latest condition put forward by the other side that dealt with the pullout of the limited Soviet military contingent from Afghanistan.

"We have stated that if the Geneva agreement is signed on March 15, then the pullout of the contingent will start on May 15 and will be completed in 10 months. If the agreement is signed earlier, the pullout of the contingent will also start earlier. Apart from it, we agreed to the pullout of a comparatively large part of the contingent on the first stage of the stage-by-stage pullout operation, and we did not link the beginning of the pullout with the creations of a coalition government".

"Since the publication of those statements new developments have taken place which seriously worry us and all the peace-loving nations of the world. Today, when there exist all the conditions for a political settlement of the situation, the Pakistani authorities quickly departed from their previous positions and are now putting forward new terms for the signing of the Geneva agreement. These circumstances should be carefully evaluated. The terms that they have put forward deal exclusively with the internal affairs of Afghanistan and are in no way connected with four documents of the Geneva agreement dealing only with the settlement of the outside aspect of this problem.

"Today, after about 6 years of talks on documents of the Geneva agreement (the Afghan side has practically completed its part of the work with those documents) with the mediation of a representative of the U.N. secretary general, Pakistan comes up with most irresponsible statements to the effect that it is not ready to sign the above mentioned agreement with the Government of the Republic of Afghanistan, thus violating the basic principles of generally recognized standards of interstate relations. Pakistan stubbornly seeks to undermine the Government of the Republic of Afghanistan and insists on the creation of a so-called transitional government. There is not need to state that the internal problems of Afghanistan on which we clearly explained our stand a year ago, specifically, the composition of a coalition government can be discussed only by the Afghan people themselves. The putting forward by the Pakistani side of this new condition for the settlement of the situation around Afghanistan is aimed at jeopardizing the negotiating process, which could result only in the continuation of the war and bloodshed".

"The people of Afghanistan who have sustained enormous losses as a result of the war going on for almost nine years pin great hopes on the success of the national reconciliation policy and the Geneva talks. The national reconciliation policy which opened up new horizons for achieving peace and national accord brings more and more practical results with every coming day. Thanks to this policy targets were set and favourable conditions were created that promoted the settlement of the problem in its internal aspect and the formation of a coalition government in the country. The signing of the Geneva agreement will put an end to all forms of outside interference in the affairs of our country and will create conditions promoting the pullout of Soviet troops and the return of our refugee compatriots. We carried out serious work connected with preparations for the next round of the Geneva talks and will spare no efforts for demonstrating our goodwill. However, this goal can be attained on condition that the other side also displays political will.

"Our people hope for the support of all the peace-minded forces of the world, for their broad support in the struggle for the establishment of peace and stability in our country and for the prevention of bloodshed which could be brought about by a delay with the signing of the Geneva accords.

"On behalf of all the people of my country I would like to urge you to use your high moral authority for making Pakistan sign the Geneva documents whose working out has been practically completed. The people and the Government of Afghanistan highly appreciate your tireless and noble efforts aimed at attaining peace in Afghanistan and the whole region".

Agreement 'Close'

LD041418 Moscow TASS in English 1351 GMT 4 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 4 TASS—TASS analyst Valeriy Vavilov writes: A prospect for a peaceful political settlement of the Afghanistan situation and ending the fratricidal war is as close as never before. There is a real hope that the present round of the Afghan-Pakistani talks in Geneva will be final and will lead to signing the drafted and agreed accords which will put an end to one of the most bitter and painful regional conflicts, seal off ways for interfering in the internal affairs of Afghanisan and rendering outside aid to those who would like to impose their will on the Afghan people by armed force.

This is also evidenced by a smile of Afghan Foreign Minister 'Abdul Wakil who met Diego Cordovez, intermediary at the talks and U.N. secretary general personal representative, and by pronouncements by Cordovez who expressed readiness to stay in Geneva as long as possible but preferably for a shorter time.

The Afghan delegation expressing a desire for an early end of the talks, holds a constructive position and proposes possible compromises, meeting halfway wishes of the recent initiatives of the Soviet and Afghan leaders, who defined periods (acceptable for all) of a withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan, and who removed, thereby, the "last obstacle" in the way of a settlement, the Afghan delegation, after preliminary consultations with Moscow, informed the other side that a withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan could be carried out in nine months. [sentence as received] Incidentally, 50 percent of the Soviet military contingent can be withdrawn within the first three months.

Today the head of the Pakistani delegation, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs Zain Noorani departed for Islamabad for consultations where he is to specify the Pakistani position. The Pakistani opposition supports the signing of Geneva accords. The leaders of the main opposition alliance— Movement for Restoration of Democracy—meet today Prime Minister Junejo to call on him "not to lose a chance", sign an agreement and to end the conflict leaving a solution on the composition of a new coalition government of Afghanistan in the hands of the Afghan people.

This is a demand of the Afghan and Pakistani peoples who want to live in an atmosphere of friendship and goodneigbourly relations. This is a wish of all peace-loving people on the earth who believe that an end to the Afghan armed conflict will pave a way to elimination of other regional conflicts whether in the Middle East or in Asia, Africa or still in Central America.

Afghan Minister Discusses Coalition Government

LD052249 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2025 GMT 5 Mar 88

[From "The World Today" program presented by Aleksandr Zhokver]

[Text] What is the political situation in Afghanistan right now? Our special correspondent Stanislav Tarasov returned from a trip to Kabul not long ago. Here is his report:

[Begin recording] [Tarasov] Since the moment that the policy of national reconciliation was proclaimed in Afghanistan, political life has become more active in the country. A law has come into force permitting political parties to be set up. For example, the interparty leftist democratic block has been set up. It includes the toilers' revolutionary organization of Afghanistan, the ("National Party"), the Peasants' Justice Party, and the Organization of the Working People of Afghanistan. So one can now talk of Afghanistan being a country in which a multiparty system is coming into being.

I had a talk with Comrade Baghlani, Afghan minister of justice and member of the Central Committee Politburo of the Toilers' Revolutionary Organization of Afghanistan:

What are the most topical problems now facing the Afghan people?

[Baghlani in vernacular with superimposed Russian translation] The most important problem right now is to end the war in Afghanistan. Then comes the transition to political dialogue, expanding and deepening democracy, and creating a calm atmosphere in the country, the sort of atmosphere where all Afghans, all citizens, all political groups, organizations, and political parties could operate freely and express their opinions openly. All patriotic forces, all those who want peace and well-being for their country are uniting in Afghanistan.

[Tarasov] What do you think about setting up a coalition government within the framework of the policy of national reconciliation?

[Baghlani] The policy of national reconciliation is the only alternative to war. At present a course heading for the creation of a coalition government is being implemented. It will include representatives of parties and organizations reflecting the interests of the widest variety of Afghan society. Only the leaders of the armed opposition oppose the idea of a coalition government. We call on them to lay down their arms and give up the armed struggle and to involve themselves in the political dialogue aimed at creating a unified, independent, and democratic Afghanistan. We are in a position to decide the question of Afghanistan's political organization freely and without interference from outside. The people have already made their choice in favor of the policy of national reconciliation.

[Tarasov] Thank you very much for talking to us. [end recording]

Moscow Meeting Marks Afghan Treaty Anniversary

PM071119 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Feb 88 Second Edition p 7

[TASS report under the general heading "Official Reports"]

[Text] The 1921 Soviet-Afghan Friendship Treaty is a document of historic importance not just for the Soviet Union and Afghanistan. In its proclamation of the Leninist principles of peace, friendship, and cooperation between countries with different socioeconomic systems it has great international significance. This was noted in Moscow 25 February, at a ceremonial meeting devoted to the treaty's 67th anniversary.

The Afghan people are building a democratic society in a difficult, unsettled situation, the speakers said. Despite the continuing armed conflict and obstructionist policy of opposition forces, the Afghan leadership's program of national reconciliation has received the broad support of workers, peasants, and all progressive forces, is in accord with the nation's interests, and is penetrating ever more deeply into the hearts and minds of Afghans. Buttressed by the Soviet people's fraternal aid, Afghanistan's working people are tackling urgent economic and social tasks and are now successfully carrying out the first revolutionary 5-year plan.

M. Safi, Afghan ambassador to the USSR, talked about the history of the formation and development of good-neighborly Afghan-Soviet relations. He stressed that the friendship treaty, drafted with V.I. Lenin's direct participation, laid the foundation of a genuinely free and independent Afghanistan and strengthened the country's internal and external position in the region. The two countries' relations were raised to a new qualitative level after the Treaty on Friendship, Good-Neighborliness, and Cooperation signed in 1978.

The ambassador considered M.S. Gorbachev's Statement on Afghanistan a very important political document of international significance which lays down the Soviet leader's position on the basic aspects of the Afghan problem. The stance adopted by the Soviet and Afghan leadership opens up the opportunity for a successful conclusion to the Afghan-Pakistani talks in Geneva, the ambassador stressed.

Zia Invited to Delhi To Discuss Afghanistan

PM071405 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Feb 88 Second Edition p 5

[Report by own correspondent O. Kitsenko: "R. Gandhi's Initiative"]

[Text] Delhi, 26 Feb—On Thursday Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi telephoned Pakistani President Ziaul Haq and invited him to come to Delhi to discuss the Afghan issue. India, as is known, has ardently supported

M.S. Gorbachev's proposals on a political settlement of the Afghan situation. There was anxiety here about the stance adopted by Islamabad, which made the signing of agreements on Afghanistan in Geneva conditional on setting up a temporary "transitional" government first. Indian condemned the mission of the Pakistani minister of state for foreign affairs to Washington and London in order to arrange for the United States and Britain to back this stance.

At the same time, consultations have begun in Delhi on the Afghan issue with U.S. Under Secretary of State M. Armacost.

Delhi is expressing the hope that the Pakistani leadership will be mindful of existing realities.

Indian Leaders Thank Gromyko, Ryzhkov for Cable

PM071117 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Feb 88 Second Edition p 1

[Indian president's, premier's message of thanks to Gromyko, Ryzhkov for greetings on Indian national holiday]

[Text] To His Excellency Mr Andrey Andreyevich Gromyko, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

To His Excellency Mr Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.

Your Excellencies,

We thank you for your congratulations and good wishes on the 38th anniversary of our republic.

The deep friendship between our two peoples has grown even stronger during the recent summit visits. The mutual holding of festivals in our two countries has aroused broad popular enthusiasm and built new bridges between our peoples.

We are confident that the close cooperation between our two countries will continue to develop in the spirit of the Indian-Soviet Treaty of Peace, Friendship, and Cooperation and the 1986 Delhi Declaration for the Good of our Two Peoples and Universal Peace and Security.

Please accept our very best wishes for the well-being and continued prosperity of the friendly Soviet people and for good health and success for you personally.

R. Venkataraman,

R. Gandhi.

Commentators Criticize Shultz Mideast Plan

Plan Meets 'Cool Reception'

LD051826 Moscow TASS in English 1719 GMT 5 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 5 TASS—TASS commentator Vasiliy Grigoryev writes:

U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz has completed the second round of his tour of a number of Middle Eastern countries. He has met with the leaders of Syria, Egypt, Jordan as well as with the Israeli leaders.

As is known, the first round of his trip has been a failure. The "new plan" of the Middle East settlement he has brought along was couched in a spirit of the bankrupt Camp David deal and met again with a very cool reception in Arab countries. Washington tried again to avoid the solution of the key problem of the Middle East settlement, the Palestinian problem. It proposed to the Palestinian a sort of "limited self-government" instead of granting their lawful right to national self determination and creation of their own independent state.

Going by reports of news agencies, during the second round the U.S. secretary of state presented a renovated version of the U.S. proposals for the Middle East settlement. The sides that took part in the talks with him were offered an opportunity to familiarise themselves with the essence of the proposals and give an answer to them prior to the visit of Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir to the United States which starts in mid-March.

Whatever the proposals of the U.S. Administration might be, one thing is clear: Time is ripe for the establishment of a durable and fair peace in the Middle East. There also exists a mechanism for working out a mutually-acceptable and comprehensive solution to a long-drawn out and dangerous conflict—a representative plenipotentiary international conference with the participation of all the parties concerned, including the Palestine Liberation Organization as the sole lawful representative of the Palestinian Arabs, as well as the five permanent members of the United Nations Security Council. The idea of convening the forum received a broad support in the Arab world, from the international public, including the United Nations General Assembly. The Middle Eastern knot must be untied in the vital interests of the peoples of the region, of universal peace and security.

Palestinians Will 'Foil' Plan

TA052150 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Hebrew 1730 GMT 5 Mar 88

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] Secretary Shultz's shuttle trip in the Middle East has revealed to all observers the major trend of the current U.S. diplomatic effort. Apparently, the first aim

of the U.S. Administration is to lead Prime Minister Yitzhaq Shamir to finally adopt the new U.S. initiative. Some progress has been achieved here. After he was handed a detailed plan for a settlement—some say, in fact, that this is an irresistable proposal—Shamir promised the Americans to continue negotiations on the issue during his visit to Washington in the middle of March. He probably wants a decision to be made as far as possible from the radical hawks in his party, the Herut.

Another direction in U.S. efforts is to lead to a breakthrough in the talks with Jordan so that it agrees, in principle, to direct negotiations with Israel in the framework of the U.S. plan. Here it is doubtful whether any real progress was made. Jordan and Syria indeed promised to answer the U.S. proposals within a week, but most observers believe that the reply will be negative, at least as far as the question of Israel's presence in the occupied territories is concerned.

One should also take a look at what is taking place inside the Palestinian camp. First, it should be noted that the majority there firmly oppose the U.S. plan. The Palestinians claim that an international umbrella for direct negotiations between Israel and Jordan, as proposed by Secretary Shultz, will be an umbrella for a separate deal which will deny the Palestinian people their just national rights. The proposal to set an interim 6-month period is, in fact, a desperate attempt to put down the Palestinian uprising in the occupied territories, while having a final solution within 3 years is not at all possible, unless of course the Israeli leadership radically changes its approach. At best, Israeli security belts will be set up in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, as is the case in southern Lebanon, and tension in the Middle East will remain undiminished. As for a solution to the Palestinian national problem, the U.S. Administration is simply not offering any solutions. Naturally, this Palestinian assessment—and it seems to us that they do not have grounds for a different assessment of the situation—will necessarily lead to a rejection of the U.S. proposals by the entire national camp of the Palestinian people, and that this camp will also act to foil the implementation of the Shultz plan, to foil their representation by elements that are not accepted by the masses of the Palestinian people and do not enjoy their confidence.

If this is so, what has Shultz managed to promote during his Middle East tour? Observers believe that no progress has been made on the practical plane. Progress might have been made on the informational level. The Israeli Labor leaders are happy because they are confident that something has begun to move forward, that the U.S. Administration has abandoned its immobile [last word in English] approach in the region. Certain circles in the Arab world also express the hope that following Shultz's tour, progress is expected in the U.S. position vis-a-vis a settlement. Still, as a matter of fact, in speaking of realism in Middle East policy, of a correct assessment of the situation, and of the role political organizations play in solving the Palestinian problem, Shultz's shuttle trip has not led to any real progress, not to mention a breakthrough. This, so we believe, proves the just position of official Soviet elements who leveled criticism at the U.S. plan for a settlement. If this plan had been consistent and taken into account the interests of all parties concerned, Secretary Shultz would not have had to waste time convincing his interlocutors in the region of the constructive nature of the Washington initiative.

Plan Excludes PLO

LD061542 Moscow TASS in English 1514 GMT 6 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 6 TASS—Follows commentary by Sergey Kulik, TASS political news analyst:

In leaving the Middle East, U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz gave Israel, Jordan, Syria and Egypt ten days for a response to the U.S. plan for a Middle East settlement. After landing in Washington he immediately made it clear that he hoped for the success of the new "peace-making initiative" of the United States in that explosive region.

Yet this is no cause for euphoria. The proposal of George Shultz strikes one rather as an attempt at taking away the fuse from the Middle East powder keg for a time rather than provide a fundamental solution to the problem.

An uprising of the Palestinians, which is unprecedented in its scale since 1967, has been raging in the Israeli-occupied territories for the third month now. Israel is ever more often described as a besieged state, and is even compared with South Africa. Under these conditions the cosmetic change and minor concessions proposed by the Americans look nothing more but a fresh manoeuvre, an attempt to bring down the passions in the Palestinian refugee camps. This is precisely how the mission of George Shultz is described in the statement by the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO). The aim of the mission, the statement stresses, was to put an end to the Palestinian uprising in the occupied Arab lands and thus save Israel.

The four-point plan proposed by George Shultz envisages many things, down to the specific terms for the implementation of the Washington initiatives, yet it lacks the main thing: PLO—the legitimate and generally recognized representative of the Palestinian people is excluded from the settlement process. Looking back at Israel, which, as before, does not wish to deal with the Palestinian patriots, the U.S. secretary of state did not leave his plan for PLO, as the anchorman of the French TV programme Antenne-2 said. Besides the plan, as THE WASHINGTON POST said, does not contain a timetable for talks between Syria and Israel on the status of the occupied Golan Heights and passes over in silence the most difficult problem, that of the destiny of the Arab East Jerusalem.

As regards the other territories covered by the plan, the essence of the U.S. proposals boils down to granting the Palestinians in the occupied lands not the right to political self-determination, but a certain "administrative autonomy", the replacement of a comprehensive settlement of the conflict with bilateral talks between Israel and a joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation. Small wonder that the closer political news analysts look at the proposals of George Shultz, the more often they describe them as "Camp David slightly refurbished", and recall Henry Kissinger. Kissinger's policy, which was outlined way back in 1975 prevents George Shultz from contacting PLO, the CBS anchorman admitted. This policy remains, as before, in force.

Irrespective of how they in Tel Aviv, Amman, Damascus and Cairo respond to the Washington plan, nobody will be able to implement it effectively without the participation of the Palestinians. They have already demonstrated their determination for action, attracted to themselves world public attention, strengthened ferment in Israel itself. Nobody will be able simply to brush aside their proposals, as happened in the past.

Further on Peresypkin's Views

LD031340 Kuwait KUNA in English 1309 GMT 3 Mar 88

[Text] Abu Dhabi, March 3 (KUNA)—A senior Soviet official has ruled out that U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz during his visit to the Middle East "would achieve any tangible results in solving the Palestinian question." He also ruled out that Shultz would carry any fresh and constructive proposals that would meet the legitimate demands of the Palestinian and Arab peoples. In an interview with AL-ITTIHAD newspaper, the director of the diplomatic academy of the Soviet Foreign Ministry, Oleg Peresypkin, said the main aim behind Shultz's visit is to help Israel out of the present crisis, which is due to the popular uprising of the Palestinians in the occupied Arab territories. It also aims at convincing the Arab countries to hold side talks with Israel under the umbrella of the international Middle East peace conference.

The Soviet official denied that his country has agreed with the U.S. on a joint formula for an international conference during Shultz's recent visit to Moscow. He said his country is still seeking to convene an international conference with the participation of the five permanent UN Security Council members and all concerned parties including the PLO.

He noted that the Middle East crisis and the Palestinian issue were the focus of all American-Soviet meetings at all levels. He did not rule out the possibility that it would be among the issues to be discussed by the American-Soviet summit in Moscow in May.

Demonstrations Continue on West Bank, Gaza

LD051733 Moscow TASS in English 1611 GMT 5 Mar 88

[Text] Cairo March 5 TASS—Muhammed Ahmed Salah, 18, was killed in the Al-Hadr village on Friday and another Palestinian was murdered by Israeli troops in the city of Jenin, also in the West Bank of the River Jordan.

Demonstrations there continued throughout yesterday, with marchers carrying Palestinian national flags and posters supporting the Palestine Liberation Organization.

Army reinforcements were moved to Gaza, Khan Yunis, Rafah, Jabalyah and Bayt-Hanun to disperse protesters. Arabs erected barricades and put up resistance to the troops.

Using firearms against defenseless people, the occupiers broke through several rows of the barricades and opened fire at demonstrators in central streets and squares. Many Palestinians were gravely wounded.

Israeli troops staged a pogrom Friday at the Palestinian refugee camp Al-Balah.

Additional units of Israeli troops and security forces were sent to East Jerusalem where anti-Israeli actions and protests against the U.S. Administration's anti-Arab policies and its support for Tel Aviv's aggressive course continued as well.

Reinforced patrols were posted on all highways leading to Jerusalem. The Israeli forces practically isolated it from the outside world and crowded it with punitive units. Combat helicopters criss-crossed the skies over Jerusalem all the time.

The patrols were strictly ordered not to let a single correspondent, especially foreigners, into the cities and populated localities swept by the uprising.

Seeking to conceal their crimes against Palestinian civilians, the occupiers justify those orders by claiming that "the press has been inciting Palestinians to riot". According to reports reaching here, several reporters attempting to make their way into "exclusion zones" were beaten up by Israeli soldiers and settlers.

Being unable to crush the uprising, Tel Aviv began a reshuffle in the command of the occupation force. According to Israeli radio, Gabi Ofir was appointed the new commander of troops in the West Bank of the River Jordan. He was promoted to brigadier-general on the occasion.

Thus there are now as many as four Israeli generals trying to reveal their "talents as military leaders" in fighting with unarmed Palestinian people.

New York March 5 TASS—Peter Jennings, host of the U.S. TV network ABC's news show, said it had become ever more difficult to cover developments in Israeli-occupied lands as Israel Friday had closed practically all the West Bank to reporters.

They are not allowed, for example, into such major cities as Nablus, Rammallah and Al-Khalil.

Nicosia March 5 TASS—A mass protest rally against Israel's actions in occupied Arab territories took place in Nicosia Friday. People attending it chanted: "Israel, hands off Palestinians" and "Freedom to Palestinian people".

Donis Khristophines, secretary of the Cyprus Committee of Solidarity with Arab peoples, and other speakers denounced the Israeli occupiers' crimes.

Moscow Continues To Mark Syrian Revolution Day

Gorbachev Cables Al-Asad

LD071310 Moscow TASS in English 1307 GMT 7 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 7 TASS—Mikhail Gorbachev has addressed to the Syrian leader Hafiz al-Asad heartfelt congratulations on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the revolution of March 8.

We highly value the interaction between the USSR and Syria in the resolution of the fundamental problems of the present, the telegram says. Of special significance is the coordination of efforts by our countries for a Middle East settlement, which, as seen from the experience, is possible only through the convocation of an appropriate international conference.

Mikhail Gorbachev stresses that people in the USSR point out with profound gratification the high level of Soviet-Syrian relations, which develop on the basis of the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation. These relations have turned into an important factor of contemporary international life, the message of congratulations says.

Officials Discuss Ties

LD062159 Moscow International Service in Arabic 1530 GMT 6 Mar 88

[Text] This reportage was prepared by our correspondent Sergey Yevgenev, who recently attended the roundtable discussion along with party officials, diplomats, and Soviet researchers who discussed with Arab journalists accredited to the Soviet Union various aspects of Soviet-Syrian relations. The meeting was held to mark the 25th anniversary of the 8 March revolution in Syria.

During the discussion, Arab journalists put forward sharp questions relating to political relations between the Soviet Union and Syria. It should be noted that such questions were not widely covered either in the Soviet press or in Syria. (Alek Zamin), official in the CPSU Central Committee, and (Aleksandr Soltanov), head of the Middle East section at the Foreign Ministry, took part in the discussion. Following is a recording of that discussion:

[Begin recording of Arab journalist in Russian followed by announcer's translation in Arabic] Ahmad al-Nu-'man, correspondent of the Kuwaiti paper AL-WATAN, posing his question to the Soviet participants in the discussion. He said that Soviet-Syrian relations play an important role in developments in the Middle East. However, the Soviet Union allows those of Jewish origin to travel to Israel. What is Syria's reaction to that?

[(Soltanov) in Russian followed by announcer's translation in Arabic] (Aleksandr Soltanov) answered the question. He is an official of the Foreign Ministry and has taken part in all Soviet-Syrian talks recently held at the governmental level. He replied to the Kuwaiti paper's correspondent by stating that this question was never dealt with in the Soviet-Syrian talks, and the Syrian delegates, in their talks with us, have repeatedly noted that they have confidence in the Soviet policy on the Middle East. And this also applies to the tours of the special groups of Soviet consulate officials in Israel, and Syria understand that. He also said: It is known to us that Syria sees Soviet policy in the Middle East as having a clear course and is relentlessly working toward convening an international conference for the settlement of the Middile East Question. [end recording]

Then the Kuwaiti AL-WATAN correspondent, the KUNA correspondent Adib al-Sayid, and 'Abd al-Wahab Hisham, the UAE-based AL-ITTIHAD correspondent, asked the following question of the Soviet side: Why cannot the Soviet Union, which has influence with Syria and the PLO, exercise pressure on both with the aim of speeding up the normalization of relations between the Syrian leaders and the Palestinian leaders?

[Begin recording of (Zamin) in Russian followed by announcer's translation in Arabic] (Alek Zamin), an official of the CPSU Central Committee, started his reply by saying: As you know, fellow journalists, the results of the 18th session of the Palestinian National Council in Damascus were received positively, and I was convinced more than once of that during my contacts with representatives of the ruling Arab Ba'th Socialist Party leadership in Syria. There are also contacts between the Palestinian Liberation Organization and the Syrian leadership, as the Syrian comrades have affirmed. As for us, I mean the CPSU, the Soviet Government, and the Soviet Foreign Ministry, we always put emphasize in the course of our contacts with the Syrian comrades and

the Palestinian leaders on the need for establishing Syrian-Palestinian cooperation. The cooperation of Syria and the PLO is indispensible.

[(Soltanov) in Russian followed by announcer's translation in Arabic] (Aleksandr Soltanov), representative of the Soviet Foreign Ministry, joined in the talk and said: I would like to add in this respect that the process of resuming Syrian-Palestinian contacts as they were in the past cannot be done quickly. However, there are things that allow optimism in this uneasy matter. I mean the Syrian cooperation with the PLO within the framework of the seven-man committee of the Arab League. But it is necessary to take a series of similar steps, it seems, in order to obtain the desired outcome, that is, the containment of sedition in the relations of those two major powers of today which are struggling for a just settlement in the Middle East.

As for the role of the Soviet Union in this question, (Aleksandr Soltanov) said, I cannot agree at all with this presentation of the question when it is said that the Soviet Union should bring pressure to bear on both sides to normalize Syrian-Palestinian relations. Presenting the question in this way is not right. It is not possible for the Soviet Union to force sovereign Syria or the PLO, the sole, legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, to arrive at identical views. However, I emphasize what (Alek Zamin) has said, that we carry out intensive contacts and discussions with the Syrians and the Palestinians in this direction, and this is not an easy thing. [end recording]

(Aleksandr Soltanov) then said: I would like to express the opinion that the Arab countries should be more interested than others in the normalization of Syrian-Palestinian relations because it is a matter directly connected with the Arabs' struggle for the elimination of the consequences of the Israeli aggression of 1967 and the Israeli aggression on Lebanon in 1982.

Yazkuliyev Addresses Libyan General Congress

PM070959 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 Mar 88 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Session Opened"]

[Text] Tripoli, 3 Mar—A routine session of the Libyan General People's Congress—the country's supreme organ of legislative power—has begun in the city of Ra's al-Unuf. For the next few days its participants, who have come from all four corners of the Libyan Jamahiriya, will be discussing topical questions of the country's domestic and foreign policy and its socioeconomic development.

This year the beginning of the General People's Congress' work coincided with Libya's national holiday—the day of the establishment of people's power. Addressing the session delegates, Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi, leader of the Libyan Revolution, stated that the Libyan people are determined to thwart imperialism's plots and intrigues and to defend their freedom and independence. He stressed that the U.S. air raids, attempts at political and economic blockade, frantic anti-Libyan propaganda, and pressure and threats against Libya had failed.

The General People's Congress session was addressed by B. Yazkuliyev, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and head of the Soviet delegation which is taking part in the celebration of the 11th anniversary of the establishment of people's power in Libya. After conveying to the leadership and people of the Libyan Jamahiriyah the congratulations of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Soviet people, he said that the Libyan people's achievements since the revolution of 1 September 1969 are well known in the Soviet Union. The course proclaimed by the revolutionary Libyan leadership headed by M. al-Qadhdhafi aimed at carrying out fundamental socioeconomic transformations in the interests of the broad people's masses and its principled anti-imperialist policy had earned the Libyan Jamahiriyah prestige among the progressive countries and helped to ensure that it occupies a fitting place in the international arena.

The Soviet delegation head described in detail to the session's participants the process of restructuring which is being developed in our country and the concept of the new political thinking which has been reflected in the Soviet state's activity in the international arena.

Noting that the current trend toward the improvement of the international atmosphere makes it possible to conduct a more effective search for ways to resolve regional conflicts, the Soviet delegation head pointed to the USSR's efforts in this sphere and cited as an example M.S. Gorbachev's Statement on Afghanistan.

The most aggressive imperialist forces, he continued, are desperately clinging on to their weakened positions and are still trying to pursue a policy of threats and blackmail. The imperialist and Zionist attempts to suppress the Palestinian people's uprising in the occupied Arab territories are an example of that. The Soviet position is well known. It firmly supports the Palestinian people's struggle led by the PLO to satisfy their legitimate rights and thwart imperialism's plans.

The Libyan people have experienced imperialism's aggressive policy for themselves and honorably withstood the severe trials which befell them. The USSR and the other socialist countries supported Libya in this just struggle.

The Soviet Union, B. Yazkuliyev stressed, highly appreciates the Jamahiriyah's anti-imperialist course, its support for Soviet initiatives in the international arena, and the close ties established between our peoples.

Tatliyev Receives Outgoing Algerian Envoy

PM071547 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Feb 88 Morning Edition p 5

[TASS report under the general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] On 26 February S.B. Tatliyev, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, received A. Fadil, Algerian ambassador to the USSR, at his request in connection with his final departure from the Soviet Union.

Friendly talks were held.

Sub-Saharan Africa

RSA Moves Against Political Groups Condemned

Sanctions Called For

["Urgent—Statement by USSR Foreign Ministry"—Tass headline]

LD061758 Moscow TASS in English 1755 GMT 6 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 6 TASS—The other day the South African racist authorities took a decision to ban political activities of several mass democratic organizations, including the United Democratic Front (UDF) and Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU). Such is a challenge cast by the apartheid regime to all honest people in South Africa coming out for freedom and justice, against oppression and lawlessness. This is another futile attempt, on its part, to quash rising resistance to the racist order and to arrest the wave of activities of democratic anti-racist organizations, in which representatives of all races and segments of the country's population participate.

It is long overdue for the Pretoria authorities to understand that the future of South Africa is connected not with suppression of the struggle of its people against the apartheid system but with an end to reprisals and a transition to positions of thinking which would enable the country to do away with the disgrace of apartheid and to pool efforts of all South Africans in the interests of establishing a united, democratic and non-racial state.

Apartheid is doomed, and it will not be saved either by a new wave of terror and reprisals, or the continued occupation of Namibia, or still acts of armed aggression against the "Frontline" African states. The stake on force and terror, on suppression of rights and freedoms of people shows weakness of the regime rather than its strength and demonstrates its failure and fallacy.

War declared now by the racist authorities also on those organizations which come out for non-violent methods of struggle, shows again how scornfully Pretoria treats the desire of the South African people for freedom and the basic human rights. The Pretoria regime blatently ignores the U.N. Charter, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (the 40th anniversary of whose adoption will be marked by the U.N. this year), international covenants on human rights and the convention on the freedom of association and protection of the right to organization of 1948.

The international community cannot feel secure when human values, as well as moral and ethical norms of civilisation are being violated in South Africa. The United Nations has long ago declared that the regime based on racial discrimination is unlawful and has classified its actions as the grossest violation of the international law, a threat to peace and security, and as a crime against humanity.

The action of the South African Government is tightening ever stronger the knot of conflict in southern Africa. In the current situation, the international community should undertake effective measures and make South Africa search for ways of a fair political settlement in that region. The embargo on arms sales to South Africa imposed by the U.N. Security Council should be observed fully, firmly and steadily. It is inadmissible that the faith in the authority of the international law should be lost. It is high time that the next step was taken—the imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions against the apartheid regime in accordance with Chapter VII of the U.N. Charter.

The "veto" on economic sanctions, which have been used at the Security Council many times, is tantamount to patronizing the racists. This is also a "veto" on democratisation and humanism, on human rights and freedoms in South Africa. It would be rightful to ask those imposing the veto how it coincides with their declarations about their commitment to human rights, the principles of self-determination and the freedom of peoples. It is inadmissible that this new anti-democratic act of the racist regime should again go unpunished.

The escalation of the apartheid policy is arousing wrath and indignation in the Soviet Union. Continued repression is leading to the further tightening of tensions and increasing violence in South Africa, as well as to more instability and the aggravation of the situation in the entire region which has become one of the world's seats of tension through Pretoria's fault. All this cannot but arouse serious concern.

The Soviet Union is ready to go hand in hand with those to whom the U.N. lofty principles and ideals of freedom and equality are dear. Time has come to undertake actions, and decisive ones, to eradicate apartheid and to eliminate the conflict situation in southern Africa.

Trade Unions Statement

LD052242 Moscow TASS in English 1928 GMT 5 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 5 TASS—Soviet trade unions have vigorously condemned the Pretoria racist regime

for suppressing elementary democratic freedoms and trade union rights of South African black workers.

A statement of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions (AUCCTU) issued today said that Soviet workers were outraged by Pretoria's recent criminal action banning the political activity of the leading South African democratic public organisations, such as the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU). This is the country's biggest trade union organisation with a membership of 750,000 workers.

The AUCCTU's statement confirmed the Soviet trade union's immutable solidarity with the staunch and steady struggle of the South African democratic forces, patriots and mass trade union organisations for the final eradication of the racial and social oppression, and against the arbitrary rule and violence of the Pretoria racist authorities.

East Europe

Polish Foreign Ministry Welcomes NATO Support

LD052042 Moscow TASS in English 1955 GMT 5 Mar 88

[Text] Warsaw March 5 TASS—"Poland welcomes the readiness, which was expressed at the NATO Council's session in Brussels at summit level, to support the efforts of the Soviet Union and the United States towards reaching an accord on a 50-per cent cut in their strategic arms", stated Stefan Staniszewskie, a press spokesman for the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in comment on the results of the Brussels session.

"The declared desire speedily to come to terms on a mandate for future talks on disarmament in the field of conventional arms in Europe has been viewed with satisfaction in Poland", he said.

"Unfortunately, one gathers the impression that the new thinking is winning its way in NATO quarters over many issues, encountering considerable resistance. It is not difficult to notice that not only the estimates of the correlation of the armed forces of the two alliances are far from the actual state of affairs but that recipes for balancing out asymmetry also to a considerable extent contradict the proclaimed goals of 'security and stability in Europe at as low level of arms as possible'".

"The way to genuine security cannot lie through a build-up and modernization of military potentials", the Polish Foreign Ministry's spokesman emphasized.

"The Warsaw treaty members states jointly and individually have offered numerous solutions and we hope that serious and constructive replies will be given to them. A practical role in this respect can be played by the "Jaruzelski Plan" which indicates methods for reducing arms and building confidence in the key central zone of Europe".

Further on Polish Patriotic Movement Visit

Gromyko Meeting

LD052128 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1820 GMT 5 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow, 5 Mar (TASS)—In the Kremlin today Andrey Gromyko received a delegation from the National Council of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth (PRON) headed by Jan Dobraczynski, chairman of the council, well-known writer, and Catholic figure.

The delegation's leader; Stanislaw Ciosek, PRON National Council general secretary and PZPR Central Committee secretary; nonparty member Anna Przeclawska, Warsaw University professor, and Cecilia Moderadzka, legal expert and Democratic Party member, said that PRON is a representative Polish organization established in 1983 for the purpose of uniting different political forces which support socialism. It plays a substantial role in achieving national concord in the country. It comprises many collectives and about 1.5 million individual members representing the PZPR, the United Peasant Party, the Democratic Party, and Catholic organizations. PRON sees its primary goal in creating various platforms for dialogue in Polish society. It advances various social initiatives, many of which enjoy popular support.

Delegation members noted that during their stay in the USSR they came into contact with restructuring. Everyone with whom the Polish guests met spoke about the processes related to restructuring, including workers at enterprises and peasants in villages. In a word, restructuring is a tangible fact. This is the delegation's main impression of the Soviet Union. A.A. Gromyko stated that every Soviet citizen and every Pole must proceed from the fact that our states are neighbors and at the same time socialist states. This is the foundation which must be kept in mind when discussing bilateral relations. Socialism is the priceless capital which we possess. Though this truth is obvious, it is not at all superfluous to recall it in the restless flow of international life. This axiom must be kept in mind even when it is not under discussion.

I recall how much effort was required at the post-war conferences of allies to uphold the borders within which Poland is now situated. At that time Poland upheld those borders together with us. Historical justice prevailed and the entire world came to see that the present borders of the Polish state are just. If various voices are sounding forth in the West about these borders, it is only to emphasize once again their hostility toward people's Poland.

The same thing applies to socialism in Poland. You have gone through an important, though difficult, phase of development and are still now feeling gusts of certain unfriendly winds. But Poland has been, is, and will remain socialist state. You are confident and right in saying that the Polish people proceeds and intends to proceed from this.

Despite the fact that there are different ideological and religious currents in Polish society, the people of your country are, nonetheless, proceeding with confidence along the path of socialism, and are finding on this path solutions to both tactical and strategic tasks. I would like to take the opportunity to assure you, on behalf of the Soviet leadership and the Soviet people, that we will continue to support our friend, socialist Poland on this path.

As for the subject of our restructuring which you have mentioned, I would like to underline that restructuring is a policy which expresses a striving of the party and the whole people to fully utilize all the enormous possibilities offered by socialism. The efforts of our whole society from top to bottom are directed toward this. The Soviet Union is an enormous country and of course time is needed for everyone to grasp this grand idea. You can say that now our people are accomplishing tasks of bringing about vast changes in earnest.

These tasks were spoken about at the 27th party congress and at the subsequent CPSU Central Committee plenums. We tackle these tasks everyday just as we breathe air daily. Of course, we would like for issues to be resolved more rapidly. But the huge scales of the tasks do not of course imply work in a laboratory. We are not targeting some sort of a milestone in time, but we do wish to achieve as soon as possible a concrete goal: to improve the life of the people, to solve social problems, to improve our economy using the latest achievements in science and technology, and to make even richer the arsenal of socialist democracy.

Restructuring also touches people's way of actual thinking. It is essential that man's consciousness goes through a process of restructuring and that he gives all his energy, knowledge, and experience for society's benefit.

A.A. Gromyko also discussed foreign policy problems. First of all, mankind is living through an especially important period as far as international affairs are concerned; the historic Soviet-U.S. agreement regarding the elimination of intermediate- and shorter-range missiles, which was signed during M.S. Gorbachev's visit to Washington must be ratified. The Soviet side expresses the hope that the United States will also treat the issue of ratification with full responsibility. The second important event of contemporary international life, to which the attention of the entire public is fixed, are the Soviet-U.S. negotiations regarding the reduction of strategic offensive weapons. As far as the Soviet Union is concerned, it will devote its maximum attention to this issue and negotiations.

The socialist countries are fighting together in the name of peace, indefatigably waging a battle at all possible levels. We express our gratitude to the Polish leadership for its support for the Soviet foreign policy line. Indeed, that policy is a common one: It expresses the coordinated course of the Warsaw treaty member states.

J. Dobraczynski stated that a striving for peace lives in the heart of every Pole. That is why all Poles favor restructuring international relations in the spirit of peace. PRON greatly sympathizes with the Soviet Union's activities on the international stage, and Poles thank the Soviet Union from the bottom of their hearts for its consistent peace-loving policy.

The conversaton took place in the warm friendly atmosphere characteristic of fraternal Soviet-Polish relations.

Wlodzimierz Natorf, Poland's ambassador to the USSR, was present during the conversation.

PAP on Meeting

LD062125 Warsaw PAP in English 1703 GMT 6 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow, March 6—A delegation of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth (PRON), led by chairman of its National Council Jan Dobraczynski and PUWP CC Secretary and PRON General Secretary Stanislaw Ciosek, ended its visit to the USSR. On Saturday, the delegation was received by CPSU CC Political Bureau member and Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR Andrey Gromyko.

Members of the delegation told their host about the history of the PRON that unites various political forces coming out for socialism. The delegation stressed that the organization affiliated many collective and about 1.5 million individual members representating the PUWP, the United Peasant and the Democratic Parties, and Catholic organizations, and that the PRON's main goal is to create various planes of dialogue in Polish society. Members of the delegation shared also their impressions of their visit to the USSR, emphasizing that the perestroyka was a perceptible fact.

Andrey Gromyko said that every Soviet citizen and every Pole should take into account the fact that our states are neighbours and socialist states.

I remember the efforts that had to be undertaken to defend the borders of Poland, within which she is now, at allied conferences after World War II, Gromyko went on. Then, Poland defended these borders together with

us. Historic justice won and the entire world acknowledged that the present frontiers of the Polish state are just. Even if opinions are voiced in the West on these borders, this is done to simply once more stress an unfriendly attitude towards people's Poland, he went on.

The same one can say about socialism in Poland. You covered an important, although not simple, road of development and now you still feel the breezes of some unfriendly winds. However, Poland has been and will continue to be a socialist state. You say, with conviction and rightly, that the Polish people is based and intends to be based on this foundation. Despite the fact that various ideological and religious currents exist in Polish society, the people of your country firmly marches along the road of socialism and finds solutions to tactical and strategic tasks on this road. Seizing upon the occasion, I want to assure you on behalf of the Soviet leadership and people that on this road we will continue to support our friend, socialist Poland. As for international issues, mankind experiences a particularly important period: The historic Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Medium and Shorter-Range missiles, signed during Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to Washington, should be ratified. The Soviet side expresses hope that also the U.S. will approach the question of ratification with full responsibility, Gromyko said.

The Soviet-U.S. talks on the reduction of strategic offensive weapons are another important event of contemporary international life, focusing the attention of the entire world community. As for the USSR, it will pay the greatest possible attention to both this question and the talks.

We voice recognition to the Polish leadership for supporting Soviet foreign policy. This is a common policy: It expresses the agreed line of the states-parties to the Warsaw treaty, Gromyko said.

Jan Dobraczynski said that a striving to peace is in the heart of every pole. That is why all Poles come out for restructuring international relations in the spirit of peace. The PRON approaches the Soviet Union's activity in the international arena with great friendliness. Poles whole-heartedly are grateful to the Soviet Union for its consistent peace policy.

Jan Dobraczynski told Moscow PAP correspondent:

We were hosted by the Union of Soviet Societies of Friendship and Cultural Cooperation with Abroad. Together with its chairwoman Valentina Tereshkova, we signed an agreement on cooperation envisaging the exchange of information on the most important social ventures and initiatives, and participation and cooperation in the propagation and consolidation of new political thinking taking realities of contemporary times into account.

The signing of the agreement was preceded by the talks with the authorities of the Union of Societies of Friendship that turned out to be unusually fruitful and useful for both sides. Our interests are convergent in many areas and that is why the ideas of concrete plans emerged. The implementation of these ideas is our common desire and their fulfilment will promote better acquaintance of peoples and fuller understanding of historical and contemporary determinants.

Strougal Interviewed on 'Victorious February'

PM070931 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 Feb 88 Morning Edition p 4

[Interview with Czechoslovak Premier L. Strougal by own correspondent L. Kornilov: "Victorious February and Our Time. CSSR Premier Lubomir Strougal Replies to Questions Put by IZVESTIYA"—first paragraph is IZVESTIYA introduction; date not given]

[Text] Prague—On 25 February 1948 Klement Gottwald told tens of thousands of inhabitants of Prague and people from all over Czechoslovakia assembled in Wenceslas Square that the bourgeoisie's attempt to topple the people's democratic regime had been foiled. A new government of the reborn National Front was set up. The road to socialism opened up before Czechoslovakia. The 40th anniversary of Victorious February is being celebrated in Czechoslovakia. In connection with this important anniversary IZVESTIYA correspondent L. Kornilov asked CSSR Premier Comrade Lubomir Strougal to answer a number of questions.

[Kornilov] What precisely was victorious February? Was it a peaceful revolution or the foiling of the bourgeoisie's attempt to stage a coup?

[Strougal] It was both. The struggle for the nature of state power was under way in our country back during the war and the years of bondage, and after the liberation of the republic by the Soviet Army it continued in new conditions. As to its class nature, the government of the National Front of Czechs and Slovaks, which was set up in April 1945, represented the main forces in Czechoslovak society—the working class and the bourgeoisie. From then on, to put it in simple terms, it was a question of which one of them would win the upper hand.

The success of the working class was attended by a number of circumstances. First of all there was the liberating mission of the Soviet Union, with its exceptionally powerful emotional charge, which had a tremendous impact on public opinion and the consciousness of the working masses. A decisive internal factor was the strong Communist Party, which enjoyed enormous prestige. It was headed by Klement Gottwald, a generally recognized and highly experienced leader.

February 1948 represents the decisive watershed in the postwar development of Czechoslovakia. The vigorous actions of the working class foiled the bourgeoisie's

attempt to stage a counterrevolutionary coup and marked the turning point in the process of the gradual transformation of the people's democratic revolution into a socialist revolution. This qualitative breakthrough in the course of our revolution occurred peacefully in full accordance with the existing constitution and in strict conformity with democratic and parliamentary customs.

[Kornilov] Which lessons of February are topical to this day? How can the experience gained at that time be of use now?

[Strougal] The times demand specific, well-considered actions from us, actions in which we preserve, build on, and develop everything that we have learned and that has proven its worth in the past. The more we orient Communists and all the working people toward the radical restructuring of society and the acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development, the better use we are making of the behests of February in the new historical conditions. All the advantages and potential of socialism must be fully exploited. Everything obsolete (and there is plenty) must be discarded. Revolutionary practice is incompatible with stagnant thought.

It is beyond question that today we would do many things differently. I have in mind the problem of the urban petty bourgeoisie, for instance, when we not only rashly dismantled its small-scale businesses but also underestimated the role of cooperative production and the service sphere. Further, I could cite incorrect notions about the pace of the cultural revolution for instance, and in general the impatient desire to accelerate social development in various spheres, although the preconditions for this were lacking.

I believe the general reason for these mistakes was insufficient adherence to the Leninist course of building socialism. This is one of the lessons which we have no right to forget if we want to be successful.

Victorious February reminds us with great insistence that the paramount precondition for all our successes is a strong, mature, and united Marxist-Leninist party. Its policy must be comprehensible and realistic and must constantly bear in mind the interests of the working people, whose participation in the elaboration of this policy, the management of social affairs and democratic control is indispensable. Without this they cannot be expected to play an active and committed part. Or to put it in other words: It is a question of the maximum utilization of the human factor, the most precious value and socialism's most important resource.

Among the main lessons of February, corroborated by the entire subsequent development of our country and society, is the conviction that all our present and future gains depend on the friendship and unity with the Soviet Union, whose "perestroyka" (Comrade Strougal uses the Russian word, although a Czech translation of the word is usually used—L.K.) represents a living and rich source of inspiration for socialist countries, including my motherland.

[Kornilov] What are your personal impressions from the historic days of 1948? What were you like then, what did you think about? Whom did you know among the prominent figures of the February events, whom do you remember?

[Strougal] I was 23 years old then. I lived at two places at once: in Prague, where I studied law at Charles University, and in my native Trebon in South Bohemia, where I was a member of the party district committee. In the district we addressed people every day although, it is true, we were sometimes booed.... But we were learning to fight. I remember that prior to February many people were expressing impatience, asking when things would finally start happening and why the Central Committee was dragging its feet. I myself was frequently in Prague, trying to learn the ropes at meetings addressed by Gottwald, Nejedly, and Kopecky. Their speeches were imbued with determination not to cede ground to the reaction. Returning home, I told friends: Don't panic. Everything will be as it should be. After the February victory, we members of the action committee in the city of Veseli told the mayor to resign. He was a rich man, and he refused to budge. After that we visited families, went from house to house persuading people, and a few weeks later another person was elected. The new mayor was a teacher and a Communist. This is how we took power into our own hands.

At the beginning of March a party aktiv meeting was held in South Bohemia. The regional committee first secretary, Comrade Palecek, a remarkable man who had spent several years in one of Hitler's concentration camps, said: "Comrades, let us be modest, let not victory turn our heads, we must not dictate to people; our method is persuasion." Comrade Gottwald called for "Focus on the Masses!" at the Prague "Lucerna" Hall. The party boldly went to work among the masses, it acted resolutely but with circumspection.

[Kornilov] How is restructuring progressing in Czechoslovakia, what, in particular, is the time frame for the renewal of the economic mechanism? What is hampering progress?

[Strougal] If I were to describe the main feature of our restructuring in one word I would have to say—comprehensiveness. That means we do not confine it just to the economy but include all spheres of social life in this process, and above all the political system and the further development of socialist democracy.

The new economic mechanism will come into force as from the beginning of the next 5-year plan—on 1 January 1991. So far we have managed to proceed on schedule. There has been nationwide discussion of the draft

laws on the state enterprise and cooperatives. A comprehensive review of wholesale and purchase prices is in preparation and its effects will be felt as early as 1 January of next year. A complete new system of management has been elaborated. As from last year, the new methods of management are being introduced as an experiment at certain enterprises in industry, trade, and the service sphere.

You ask about the obstacles which we are encountering in the path of restructuring. I believe they do not differ greatly from those encountered in other fraternal countries. Tens of years of work in conditions of directive management have left their mark on our way of understanding and assessing phenomena and situations and on the way in which we approach the problems that arise. Changing this way of thinking is the main task, it has arisen as an objective necessity, and it cannot be resolved overnight.

[Kornilov] What new ways of cooperation with the USSR and other socialist countries do you see?

[Strougal] We actively participate in preparations for the restructuring of the mechanism of integration and of CEMA activities. It is perfectly clear that it is necessary here to eliminate everything that hampers better cooperation. Our main interest, naturally, is cooperation with the Soviet Union. This cooperation has a firm basis and a relatively broad scope, and it is mutually advantageous. The past forms and methods, however, are no longer sufficient here. Therefore the talks between M. Jakes and M.S. Gorbachev in January of this year and my talks with N.I. Ryzhkov at the end of last year focused above all on qualitative changes in our collaboration. Changes in the model of division of labor make it necessary to switch from intersector exchanges to intrasector exchanges, to substantially expand production sharing, specialization, and exchanges of licenses, and—no less important—to take resolute steps toward cooperation in the nonproduction sphere and in information technology. As the basis for this process, a long-term concept for cooperation between the CSSR and the USSR for the next 15-20 years is being drawn up.

The first experience of direct ties and the establishment of joint enterprises shows with the utmost emphasis that it is necessary to resolutely change the mechanism of both internal and integration management. I have in mind the use of commercial credits, the use of national currencies in settling accounts resulting from direct links, and the establishment of realistic exchange rates for national monetary units. It is also necessary to eliminate certain divergences in legal procedures, to resolve social questions relating to staff at joint enterprises, and to reach an accord on norms and standards.

[Kornilov] What, figuratively speaking, could be described as the assets of Czechoslovak foreign policy?

[Strougal] In foreign policy we proceed from our historic experience, from our obligations to our allies, and also from the fact that we live in the center of Europe on the western border of the Warsaw Pact community. We support and promote all the peace initiatives of the socialist community. Together with the GDR Government we have submitted a proposal on the creation of a zone free from chemical weapons and a nuclear-free corridor in Central Europe. Unfortunately, our initiatives have still not met with a proper response from the Bonn government.

We ardently welcomed the Washington meeting between M.S. Gorbachev and R. Reagan and the conclusion of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, from which obligations ensue also for us in the section relating to inspections. At the same time we have agreed to the withdrawal of the relevant missiles from our territory even prior to the ratification of the treaty. We hope this act of good will will be correctly understood in the West.

We intend to play a greater part in the solution of mankind's global problems. In short, Czechoslovakia wants to be seen and heard in the world arena.

[Kornilov] What would you like to say in conclusion?

[Strougal] I would just like to stress again that everything we are striving for in Czechoslovakia today must lead above all to substantial progress, to the creation of better living and working conditions for people, better conditions for the application of their abilities and their all-around development. This is our duty in respect of the behests of the revolution and of those who are at present struggling for social liberation and to whom socialism seems so attractive. Our reason for this is that in the struggle for the future of mankind it is not enough for socialism to have better ideas than the old world. It must also produce better results.

West Europe

Gorbachev Meets With Austrian KPOe's Muhri

Speaks at Welcoming Ceremony

PM070927 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 March 1988 Second Edition pp 1-2

["M.S. Gorbachev's Meeting With F. Muhri"—PRAVDA headline]

[Text] On 4 March, Mikhail Gorbachev met with Franz Muhri, chairman of the Communist Party of Austria [KPOe], in the CPSU Central Committee. Taking part in the meeting were Walter Silbermayr, member of the KPOe Central Committee Political Bureau and Johann Steiner, member of the KPOe Central Committee secretariat.

Welcoming the comrades, Mikhail Gorbachev said that the Soviet leadership and the CPSU in carrying out restructuring constantly felt their great responsibility to all communists, for it is a question of multiplying socialist values and of asserting peace.

A tried and tested way to get to know what is taking place and to draw the right conclusions is to fully use Marxist-Leninist teaching. This is difficult work, requiring creativity, critical thought, an ability to draw lessons from the past, and to forecast the course of events.

At a certain moment, life made the CPSU realize that we could no longer evade real problems. In general, Mikhail Gorbachev pointed out, to ignore realities is perhaps the worst kind of opportunism.

Analyzing the present-day world on the basis of the new thinking, we noticed how much it has changed over several decades. The new thinking has enabled us to strictly analyze the objective situation and to work out a responsible and effective policy. To us the new thinking is not playing at novelty but is a theoretical and political imperative.

The developments of the past 2 and more years have shown that our thinking and our actions were correct. A response to our new thinking and our new international policy on the part of the working people, the democratic public, many political circles, and the "military party" in the West is evidence enough to us that in the matter of saving the world from a catastrophe we have embarked on a correct path.

Another aspect of the new thinking consists in the fact that with the help of it and through a policy based upon it, we reveal the humanism of socialist society.

For many years the idea was drummed into people in the West that socialism emerges from war, that its objective is to conquer the whole world, that expansion is intrinsic in socialism, and that it is to blame for the arms race. However, restructuring and the new thinking have enabled us to show to everyone the essential, humanistic meaning of socialism. This links in the most living way the class and general human aspects of the world process and draws them together in solving the main problems facing the present-day world, primarily in the interests of the working masses who bear the brunt of those problems and of the dangers existing today.

Communists have every right to say that they express the interests of working people in the most consistent way. A correct notion of socialism, which is promoted by restructuring, meets the interests of the working class, of all the working people, and helps to uphold everywhere the independent choice and national interests of each country and the international interests of all civilization.

Franz Muhri also devoted much attention in his statements to the task of preserving peace, which is of priority importance to all communists.

Problems of European security were discussed from the viewpoint of possibilities opened up by the signing of the INF Treaty, both for advancement along the path of nuclear disarmament and for the reduction of conventional arms and armed forces on an equitable basis, down to an exclusively defensive level.

The interlocutors described the NATO "compensation" plans as a serious threat to the emerging prospect of lowering military confrontation in Europe, drew attention to the intensification of the militarist component in integrational processes of Western Europe, and reaffirmed their commitment to the concept of a "common European home" and the complete implementation of all aspects of the Helsinki Final Act.

Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev stressed the importance of the neutral states' contribution to the European process. We value their independent contribution, he said. This is an essential element of European politics, and we constantly take it into account.

If Europe lost the independent contribution of the neutral states, this would make the potential of international detente much poorer.

Comrade Gorbachev viewed with understanding the aspiration of the Austrian Communists to work toward increasing Austria's contribution to improving the European and international situation, which they linked with the consistent observance of the state treaty.

The Austrian people, Comrade Gorbachev said, can probably see clearly what they got from that treaty. Observing it was not only a national but also a European problem determining Austria's specific contribution to building the "common European home".

Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and Franz Muhri discussed some problems of the international communist movement and noted the significance of the international meeting held in Moscow prior to the celebrations marking the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution. They expressed support for the increasingly active contact between communist parties that has taken shape in the new atmosphere. It is best to engage in an analysis of international processes, Comrade Gorbachev stressed, together with one's friends on a collective basis. Therein lies the assurance of success and a great guarantee that errors will not be made. What is typical for communist parties now, it was stated in the conversation, is an understanding of the novelty of the processes that are taking place, the quest for a place of their own in them, and the development of new approaches.

The CPSU and the KPOe are building their relations on common ideological foundations. They are friends and their views coincide greatly. Meanwhile, each party is completely independent and bears its own responsibility for its country and the interests of its working masses. The dialectics of combining the general and the particular in the international communist movement is a complex science. We lose a great deal when the experience of one party is mechanically transferred to another.

Comrade Gorbachev thanked the Austrian comrades for their solidarity with the policy of restructuring in the USSR and briefly described the problems that are being tackled in its new phase. Here he stressed that the chief aim is to involve the people in all spheres of the life of society. What in fact distinguishes socialism as a higher stage in the development of mankind is that it is tackling an historic task—that of dealing a final blow to the alienation of man.

A socialist society demonstrates its certainty of the future also by its capacity for self-analysis and self-criticism. We can see that our self-criticism is being made use of by our foes and that it is not accepted by those who have no wish to understand, or who are incapable of understanding, the socialist essence of our restructuring. But for us the most important thing is that socialism—through the new thinking and by means of new approaches and self-criticism—is securing for itself a dynamic development and is realizing its humanistic nature. That is why we shall march firmly along our chosen path. What is required here is great courage and revolutionary consistency and resolve. Difficulties are inevitable. We have inherited much that cannot immediately be gotten rid of. But we are not falling into panic, nor into euphoria. We have adopted major, fundamental decisions on restructuring. The main thing now is routine, everyday, long-term work, and struggle. We have every grounds for counting on success.

The meeting confirmed the fraternal nature of the relations between the CPSU and the KPOe. Comrade Gorbachev conveyed best wishes to Austrian Communists and the working people of Austria.

Speaks of 'Ethnic Tensions'

AU041943 Vienna Television Service in German 1830 GMT 4 Mar 88

[From the "Zeit im Bild 1" newscast]

[Text] Moscow—KPOe [Communist Party of Austria] Chairman Franz Muhri was received by party chief Gorbachev in the Kremlin today. During the talk, Gorbachev commented on the ethnic tensions in the south of the Soviet Union and accused local party authorities of having ignored the conflict for too long. This was the first opportunity for Muhri to obtain firsthand information on the Kremlin's reform policy. Gorbachev also announced that in the future the CPSU would seek more intensive contacts with noncommunist parties.

KPOe Delegation Meets Officials

AU071014 Vienna VOLKSSTIMME in German 5 Mar 88 p 2

[Werner Pirker dispatch from Moscow: "Gorbachev Tells KPOe Delegation About Restructuring: Responsibility to All Communists"]

[Excerpts] Moscow—The meeting between CPSU General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev and a KPOe delegation consisting of Party Chairman Franz Muhri, Central Committee Secretary Walter Silbermayr, and Hans Steiner, head of the Central Committee International Department, was the top news item on the Soviet television newscast Vremya. The other central Soviet media also carried extensive reports on the visit. [passage omitted]

In addition to the meeting with Mikhail Gorbachev, which certainly was the highlight of its visit, the delegation conducted two other important talks on Saturday [5 March]. First it met USSR Foreign Trade Minister Konstantin Katushev. The focal points of the extensive talk were the state and development of economic relations between Austria and the Soviet Union. The Austrian side was convinced that the Soviet Union is interested in exploiting all opportunities to develop economic relations between the two countries. Muhri and Silbermayr advocated this with great emphasis, and a number of specific projects were discussed.

At a meeting in the CEMA Secretariat, General Secretary Sychev briefed the guests on the state of the negotiations on establishing relations between the CEMA and the EC. He confirmed the KPOe's view, according to which the search for forms of equal cooperation between CEMA and the EC can in no way be compared with the efforts of Austrian circles to become an EC member, which would lead to a far-reaching abandonment of Austria's independence.

The KPOe delegation will return to Vienna on Sunday and will report on the results of its visit to Moscow at a press conference on Monday.

Latin America & Caribbean

Dobrynin, Medvedev Meet With Castro

LD050510 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0445 GMT 5 Mar 88

[Text] Havana, 5 Mar (TASS)—Fidel Castro, first secretary of the Cuban Communist Party Central Committee and chairman of the State Council and the Council of Ministers of the Republic, has received Anatoliy Dobrynin and Vadim Medvedev, secretaries of the CPSU Central Committee, who are taking part in the conference of central committee secretaries of communist and workers' parties of the socialist countries which is being held here on international issues. In the course of the conversation, which was conducted in a warm and

friendly atmosphere, a wide circle of issues relating to the contemporary international situation and Soviet-Cuban relations was examined.

Jorge Risquet, member of the Politburo and of the Secretariat of the Communist Party of Cuba Central Committee, and other officials participated in the conversation. Aleksandr Kapto, member of the CPSU Central Committee, USSR ambassador in the Republic of Cuba, was present at the meeting.

The same day, Anatoliy Dobrynin and Vadim Medvedev visited the V.I. Lenin park, where a monument to the leader of the world proletariat has been erected. They also visited a number of scientific research centers and were briefed on the activities of the mini-brigades, collectives of volunteer assistant builders who are erecting housing and amenities in Havana.

Fidel Castro accompanied the Soviet delegation on its visit.

Return to Moscow

LD061825 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1200 GMT 6 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow, 6 Mar (TASS)—CPSU Central Committee Secretaries Anatoliy Dobrynin and Vadim Medvedev, who have been taking part in the Havana conference of central committee secretaries of communist and workers' parties on international issues, today returned to Moscow.

At the airport they were met by Comrades Baklanov, Kapitonov, and senior officials of the party Central Committee.

Castro Interviewed by NBC Television

LD041929 Moscow TASS in English 1730 GMT 4 Mar 88

[Text] Havana March 4 TASS—Fidel Castro, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba, president of the Council of State and of the Council of Ministers of the Republic, has said that human rights are observed in Cuba most strictly. Assertions as to abuses, violence, and tortures in the country are lies and slander being circulated by the U.S. propaganda machine.

In an interview with the American NBC TV network, he emphasized that the Cuban Government had done much for the working people, in the field of human rights as well. He said more than (?300,000) children had been saved resultant of reducing child mortality rate alone. Life expectancy had grown from 55 to 75 years, and free medical service had been introduced. Illiteracy and poverty had been eliminated, prostitution, narcotics smuggling, and games of chance had been done away with over the years of people's power. How can the West—through the fault of which up to 120,000 children die of hunger and shortage of medicines in Third-World countries every three days—speak of human rights in general? he queried.

Fidel Castro described as 'the height of cynicism' the U.S. decision to appoint Armando Valladarez—a terrorist and a former policeman during the days of the Batista dictatorship in Cuba—as the leader of U.S. delegation to the Geneva session of the U.N. Human Rights Commission.

The Cuban leader devoted much attention to the situation in Central America, the situation which has become complicated as a result of the U.S. aggressive policy. He voiced support for the peace plan worked out by the Contadora Group and for idea of a political settlement in the region.

Fidel Castro said that, to his mind, the biggest contribution to strengthening peace in the region was being made by Nicaragua, a country which is the victim of the 'dirty war' which has claimed a toll of about fifty thousand human lives.

He qualified the subversive actions against Nicaragua as a 'continuation of Playa Giron', emphasizing that both events pursued one and the same aim. The U.S. Administration should realize that a policy of peace is necessary whereas the policy of the Reagan administration is aimed at destroying Nicaragua.

Fidel Castro said Cuba was ready to promote the search for ways to ease tensions at the international level and to work on a search for solutions to regional problems.

Speaking of the current reorganisation process in the Soviet Union, Fidel Castro emphasized that the Soviet Union is a great country and that everything that is taking place there is having an effect on both Europe, the United States, the socialist community, and the developing countries, including Cuba.

He voiced support for the Soviet policy of peace, and said that he regarded the Soviet Union's concern for peace as one of the most constructive events of the recent time. He believes that the Soviet policy of peace has shattered myths, destroyed barriers, and to a certain extent cleared the way for an intensification of many important processes, and is of benefit to the whole of mankind.

Touching upon the United States' anti-Panamanian campaign and, in particular, the U.S. accusations levelled at General Noriega, commander-in-chief of the National Defense Forces of Panama, about his alleged involvement in drug trafficking, Fidel Castro said that was a big conspiracy against the Panama Canal Treaties between Panama and the United States.

He said the accusations were aimed at securing the removal of the National Defense Forces of Panama from political activity, for they hold patriotic positions. The Pentagon, the Central Intelligence Agency, and the Department of State of the USA seek to eliminate the Panama Canal Treaties and to keep the Canal under their control.

Nicaragua Calls On Reagan To Start Talks

LD051049 Moscow TASS in English 0737 GMT 5 Mar 88

[Text] Managua March 5 TASS—The government of Nicaragua has demanded that the U.S. Administration should resume direct negotiations with the Sandinist leadership with a view of normalising bilateral relations and consolidating mutual security. A communique issued by the presidential office and circulated here, calls upon Ronald Reagan to start negotiations with Nicaragua on problems of Central America and improvement of relations between the two states.

"The U.S. Administration has a real possibility of stopping for all time support to the contras, of backing up in deed the peace initiatives of the Nicaraguan leadership and of promoting the quest for peace in the region within the framework of the Guatemala accords", the communique says.

Somoza men, infiltrated into the territory of the country, meanwhile committed a new crime against the Nicaraguan people. The NUEVA NICARAGUAN News Agency reported today that a group of contras, up to 150 men in all, last night made an armed attack on an agricultural cooperative in the north of the country. The local self-defence and people's militia unit courageously put up resistance to the mercenaries.

Nicaraguan Talks Offer Causes U.S. 'Confusion'

LD041543 Moscow TASS in English 1521 GMT 4 Mar 88

[Text] Washington March 4 TASS—The latest manifestation of goodwill on the part of the Nicaraguan Government which proposed direct high-level cease-fire talks with contra rebels has caused confusion within the Reagan administration and the Somozist leaders.

Deputy Spokesman of the U.S. State Department Phyllis Oakley made controversial remarks at a briefing to the effect that the United States had always backed in principle direct talks between the Sandinists and the contras.

Nevertheless, Nicaragua's decision to reject Cardinal Miguel Obando y Bravo's mediatory efforts...dealt a blow at peace settlement, she said.

A similar ambivalent stance with regard to Managua's peace initiative has been adopted by the leaders of Nicaraguan counter-revolution.

The "directorate" of the contras, at a conference in Miami, was compelled to agree on the whole to the Nicaraguan proposal, but insisted on participation of Cardinal Obando y Bravo as a go-between despite the fact that it was the contras who earlier demanded "direct dialogue" with the Nicaraguan Government.

At the same time, one of the leaders of the so-called Nicaraguan Democratic Resistance, Adolfo Calero, who had been appointed to lead the contra delegation at the forthcoming talks, reiterated their intention to press for political concessions from the Nicaraguan Government as the chief condition for ending hostilities and concluding a truce.

The previous rounds of the talks had been broken off as a result of the contras' attempts to impose on the Nicaraguan delegation the discussion of their political demands rather than specific issues of enforcing a cease-fire.

The Nicaraguan delegation suggested holding the next round in the Nicaraguan settlement of Sapoa on the border with Costa Rica on March 9-11.

Managua March 4 TASS—The Nicaraguan Government has requested Costa Rican President Oscar Arias to provide safe passage for the contra delegation via the territory of his country to the Nicaraguan border to take part in the cease-fire talks.

Manuel Espinoza, official spokesman for the Nicaraguan Government, said that the Costa Rican leader expressed readiness to facilitate the new efforts directed at implementing the Guatemala accords on establishing a lasting peace in Central America.

Uruguayan President To Visit 19-23 Mar

LD062144 Moscow TASS in English 2101 GMT 6 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 7 TASS—Julio Maria Sanguinetti, president of the Eastern Republic of Uruguay, will pay an official visit to the Soviet Union from March 19 to 23 at the invitation of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Soviet Government.

Political & Social

Gorbachev, Zaykov Visit Moscow Bearings Plant

LD041827 Moscow TASS in English 1820 GMT 4 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 5 TASS—General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Hikhail Gorbachev today visited the No 1 bearings plant. He was familiarised with its operation, toured production shops and talked with workers. The visit ended in a meeting with workers, team leaders, foremen, shop superintendents and managers of the enterprise.

Together with Mikhail Gorbachev the plant was visited by member of the Political Bureau, Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, First Secretary of the Moscow City Party Committee Lev Zaykov.

A detailed account of Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to the plant will be published in the press.

Tense Situation in Armenia, Azerbaijan

Yerevan Workers Return

NC041821 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1600 GMT 4 Mar 88

["Correspondent's report on the theme of the day"]

[Excerpts] After the crowded meetings which took place in the republic, particularly in Yerevan, in connection with the well-known events in Nagorno-Karabakh, the situation is returning to normal. Workers' collectives, receiving CPSU Central Committee General Secretary Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's message to the two fraternal peoples and working people, have sensibly gone back to work with renewed enthusiasm, promising to fulfill the assignments of the last month of the quarter with (?good results).

The workers of the technical rubber articles plant [redinetekhnikagan ireri gordzaran] in the capital did their part in the above mentioned efforts. The appeal by the leader of the party became a new (?occasion) for inspiration to work. Acting as one man to make up for lost time, the collective decided to work on the weekend. Aram Ananyan, chairman of the trade union at the plant, said: Everybody was at his post on Saturday; all we had to do to take care of the meals, and that too was settled. (Karnik Garnik Atoyan) and his wife, (Norina Chichakyan), both work at the plant. They, too, were at their posts by the machines they operate. It was difficult to arrange care for their two young children because classes were not being held on those days and kindergartens were naturally not open, but we did find a way out and [words indistinct]. The inspiring thing was that everybody had shown a similarly high sense of understanding the situation. Other women workers at our plant have made similar arrangements for having their children fed and are working by our side. Compared to the R6,500 worth of goods per shift produced on a normal day, our collective produced R7,200 worth of goods, said [name indistinct], head of production department number four. The workers worked at a similar pace on the second day of the weekend. The general secretary's words have also inspired the workers of production department number there. [passage omitted] We are inspired by the belief that a positive and just settlement of the questions raised in Nagorno-Karabakh will be found. [passage omitted]

Baku Comments on Nationality Issue

NC050845 Baku International Service in Arabic 1630 GMT 4 Mar 88

[Station commentary: "We have One Homeland"]

[Text] [Words indistinct] practices by part of the Armenian people who are demanding the annexation of the mountainous Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast to the Soviet Republic of Armenia. [Words indistinct] extremist nationalist fanaticism provoked violations of the social system in some areas in Azerbaijan [words indistinct]. The CPSU Central Committee, after considering the news and information about the events in the mountainous Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast, has pointed out that those practices, as well as the demands calling for a reconsideration of the regional and national structure [word indistinct] contravenes [words indistinct] in the Azerbaijan and Armenian SSR's, affects the growing relations among the nationalities, and contravenes and contradicts the USSR's Constitution.

The CPSU Central Committee, which continuously professes the Leninist principles with regard to national policy, has appealed to the patriotic and international sentiments of the Azerbaijanis and Armenians, and called on them not to be drawn into the provocations of fanatical nationalist elements and to bolster the great socialist achievement of the Soviet peoples'fraternal friendship.

We note here, dear listeners, that the issue of national relations [words indistinct] this issue simply in our country, particularly if we learn that more than 100 nationalities and minorities live within the borders of the Soviet state.

The Great October Socialist Revolution turned over a new leaf in national relations. Socialism has suggested a policy of friendship and cooperation among peoples, instead of the policy of tsarist Russia which had been built on the principle of divide and rule. The revolutionary authority of the peasants and workers which was established after the revolution proclaimed the equality of all nationalities and supported [words indistinct]. In our country, languages, literature, and (?national) arts are developed. National dignity is respected. What is of principal concern is that economic and cultural backwardness [words indistinct] in our country has been eliminated. That backwardness used to be the distinctive

feature of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics during the first years of its establishment. For instance, before the (?establishment) of Soviet rule, Nagorno-Karabakh used to be one of the most backward provinces in tsarist Russia. [sentence indistinct] Ninety percent of this province's residents were illiterate. Ever since the initial days following the victory of Soviet authority in Nagorno-Karabakh, gradual action has been undertaken by [words indistinct] for the sake of giving educational instruction in the mother tongue. In a further development of scholastic instruction [words indistinct], more than 200 schools [words indistinct] and the Higher Institute for Teacher Training. [passage indistinct] In 1928, Nagorno-Karabakh heard the voice of the announcer of the region's radio station for the first time. They heard it later from the region's television, which came into the possession of all people in Nagorno-Karabakh. The local station in Nagorno-Karabakh transmits its programs in Azerbaijani and Armenian. In 1940, a branch of the Azerbaijani Writers Association was opened in the region. It is known that social and cultural development is not possible without (?due attention) to the citizens' health. Today in Nagorno-Karabakh there are 100 beds for every 10,000 people. The number of physicians is [word indistinct] for every 1,000 people. For a long time now the region has surpassed some highly advanced capitalist countries. These are the facts. [words indistinct] which the socialist system suggested, and which was provided by the CPSU leadership, the useful activity of the masses of the people, and the fraternal friendship among the (?Soviet) peoples.

If the obvious achievements attained by the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [words indistinct] in the years of Soviet rule [words indistinct] the question automatically arises: For whose interest are the seeds of hostility being sown at the present time between the Azerbaijani and Armenian peoples? It has become manifest that this is for the interest of the enemies of socialism and [word indistinct] state. Doubtless some young people, lacking awareness, have been drawn to demagogic and inflammatory statements and acted against public order in Nagorno-Karabakh. Yerevan [words indistinct], where the situation has been resotred to normal. These days, numerous letters are being received by our correspondent in Nagorno-Karabakh and its environs from [words indistinct] Azerbaijan and Armenia [words indistinct] newspapers the radio and television. All of the people who send these letters support the conclusion summarized by the CPSU Central Committee and which states that the practices and demands calling for a reconsideration of the existing regional and national structure contradicts the interests of Azerbaijan and Armenia and harms national relations. Azerbaijanis and Armenians profoundly support the CPSU Central Committee in seeking to bolster the great socialist gain of fraternal friendship among the Soviet peoples everywhere. The USSR currently devotes attention to the great issue of perestroyka [words indistinct]. The fate of socialism, our homeland, and each of us revolves around its [word indistinct]. Today the process of renewal encompasses all aspects of life in soviet society. The most important existing issue in the sphere of national relations [words indistinct]. The CPSU considers any aspect of international or chauvinist aggression, and [word indistinct] seclusion harmful to the gains of socialism and the international unity of Soviet society.

Interview With Pogosyan

LD041847 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1750 GMT 4 Mar 88

[Text] Baku, 4 Mar (TASS)—A TASS correspondent has met with Genrikh Andreyevich Pogosyan, first secretary of the Nagorno-Karabakh Obkom of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan, and has asked him to answer the editorial board's questions:

[TASS] How did the oblast's Communists and working people react to the appeal of the CPSU Central Committee general secretary to the working people and the peoples of Azerbaijan and Armenia?

[Pogosyan] With understanding and a feeling of gratitude. M.S. Gorbachev's appeal provides convincing evidence of the closest attention, profound concern, and sincere interest in resolving the fundamental social and economic problems that have arisen at this new stage in the development of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast. We fully share the idea that a carefully considered and democratic approach is needed in settling these matters.

The appeal clearly points out that new approaches and new guidelines are required when surmounting the difficulties of growth. For this purpose a calm and businesslike situation has to be maintained in the oblast. The main thing, as M.S. Gorbachev's appeal said, is to display civic maturity and restraint and to return to a normal life.

The situation in Nagorno-Karabakh is becoming normal. People are starting work in an organized fashion. Industrial enterprises are picking up the plan rate of work. The kolkhozes and sovkhozes of Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast are embarking on spring fieldwork and are increasing the output of livestock farm units, while transportation, municipal enterprises, and all the life support services operated normally before.

The people of Nagorno-Karabakh are multinational. Living side by side in the oblast are Armenians and Azerbaijanis, Russians and Ukrainians, Georgians and Belorussians.... Of course there are also unresolved problems in our lives. But it would be erroneous to believe that some sort of capital can be made out of inflating them. It is important today not to allow individual people to play on that. One cannot have a one-sided understanding of democracy, divorcing rights from duties. This damages the socioeconomic development of society and the friendship of peoples.

I should like to mention that through the fault of the former leadership of the party obkom, artificial difficulties were created concerning cultural exchange, the provision of fiction and school textbooks in the native language, and other aspects of the multifaceted and traditional links between the working people of Nagorno-Karabakh and fraternal Armenia. These problems can and must be tackled expeditiously.

[TASS] What measures are being taken to further normalize the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast?

[Pogosyan] A great deal of ideological, propaganda, and explanatory work is being done in workers' collectives, sovkhozes and kolkhozes, and educational establishments. It is aimed at ensuring that every inhabitant of the oblast is profoundly aware of the utmost clarity and precise stance of the CPSU Central Committee so that the hour of reason and sober decisions should strike for each person individually and that a sense of civic duty and responsibility for the common cause should come to the fore.

The industrial enterprises in Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast are linked by close economic bonds to many allied enterprises in the country. Under financial autonomy, each hour lost inflicts damage not only on the oblast's enterprises but also on our partners in various regions of the country.

Party, local soviet, trade union, economic, and Komsomol bodies are doing everything possible for the economic and political life of the oblast to be fully stabilized and for the workers of Nagorno-Karabakh to make up the arrears incurred and to fulfill their contractual obligations.

We are giving a priority role to the party aktiv and the primary party organizations not just in dealing with social and production tasks but also in forming a sober attitude toward the contemporary situation. The readiness of the CPSU Central Committee to examine the entire complex of social and economic problems in the development of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast is one more testimony to the wisdom of the Leninist policy on natinalities. I can say with all certainty that we have now realized that what is most important today, as was noted in M.S. Gorbachev's address, is to concentrate on dealing with specific social and economic tasks in the spirit of the policy of restructuring and renewal.

31 Killed in Sumgait

LD041815 Moscow TASS in English 1803 GMT 4 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 4 TASS—As has already been reported, a group of hooligan elements provoked unrest in Sumgait on February 28. Wavering, immature people who fell under the impact of false rumours concerning the developments in Nagorno-Karabakh and Armenia found themselves drawn into unlawful actions. Criminal elements committed violent actions and engaged in robberies. They killed 31 people, among them members of various nationalities, old men and women.

Resolute measures were taken to normalize the situation. Those guilty of the crimes were arrested, and criminal proceedings are being instituted against them strictly in accordance with the Soviet laws.

A government commission headed by Gasan Seidov, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic, has been set up. All matters connected with ensuring the uninterrupted functioning of municipal services and maintaining the public order are being tackled. The necessary aid has been given to those who suffered as a result of the unrest. People's requests and applications are being considered and prompt measures are being taken in connection with them.

The people of the city show self-discipline and sentiments of internationalism. Work has not been interrupted. Industrial, transport, trade, public catering, everyday-service and other establishments work as usual and classes in educational establishments go on.

Press Reports Sumgait Incidents

NC050657 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0440 GMT 5 Mar 88

[From the republican press review]

[Text] [name of paper and title of article indistinct] is published on the front page. It says: The incidents that have occurred in Sumgait recently, the acts of wild behavior and destruction, have shaken our whole republic. This has once again demonstrated that rumor confuses reason, (?undermines) moral sense, and totally takes control of the will of those falling into its clutches. The Sumgait incidents are proof of the kind of terrible evil that false rumors are. [passage indistinct]

Undoubtedly those who have aimed their blows against socialist internationalism shall be found and exposed. They certainly will not be able to save themselves from the machinery of justice because the sense of internationalism is sacred for all Soviet people.

According to a TASS report, published in the papers, a group of hooligans provoked unrest in Sumgait on 28 February and criminal elements committed violent actions and engaged in robberies. They killed 31 people, including members of various nationalities, old men and women.

The Central Committee of the Azerbaijan Communist Party, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Azerbaijan SSR, and the Council of Ministers of the Azerbaijan SSR, extend their profound condolences to

the families and friends of those killed in the (?disturbances) and sincerely share the sorrow of those who have suffered. Resolute measures have been taken to return the situation to normal. Those guilty of the crimes have been arrested and are being subjected to criminal proceedings in strict compliance with Soviet laws. A government commission headed by Gasan Seidov, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Azerbaijan SSR, has been set up.

Work 'Gathering Speed'

NC050838 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0440 GMT 5 Mar 88

[From the republican press review]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] A report from Stepanakert says that the silk combine in Karabakh [Karabakh ipek kombinasi] has failed to supply consumers in excess of R1.5 million worth of products in recent weeks. The collective is trying to make up for the arrears. [sentence indistinct]

The rythym of work is gathering speed in the other towns and enterprises of Nagorno-Karabakh. Fieldwork is proceeding at full speed.

Freight Shipment With Azerbaijan

NC050813 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0520 GMT 5 Mar 88

[From the review of SOVETAKAN HAYASTAN]

[Text] The paper publishes as a front-page item a contribution entitled "Uninterrupted Shipments" by Perch Karapetyan, secretary of Yerevan railroad station [word indisinct]. The item disclosed how the collective of the station is paying serious and consistent attention to dispatching freight to Soviet Azerbaijan on time. We see from this item that in the period 29 February to 2 March alone, 1,065 railroad cars were dispatched to Norashen station in Azerbaijan. During the same period, 991 cars were received from Norashen.

Moscow Blames Stalin

LD051518 Moscow World Service in English 1410 GMT 5 Mar 88

[Text] Now Radio Moscow's observer Aleksandr Putko looks at an anniversary that isn't observed in this country. This is what he writes:

Today marks 35 years since the death of Stalin. The Soviet press has not marked the date, all the more so, the press and leaders have thoroughly analyzed the activity of Stalin, perhaps the most controversial personality in contemporary history.

In his speech for the 70th anniversary of the socialist revolution in Russia, Mikhail Gorbachev made the following remark: Remaining on the positions of the historical truth, we must see both Stalin's indisputable contribution to the struggle for socialism and defense of its gains and gross political mistakes and arbitrary rule by him and his associates, mistakes and arbitrary rule for which our people paid a heavy price and which had adverse consequences for our society.

The blame of Stalin and his close aides before the party and people for the mass repressions and lawlessness is immense and unforgiveable, this is a lesson for all generations to come.

This is a lesson plus the problems facing us today, and although the anniversary of Stalin's death is not observed in this country, I want, writes Aleksandr Putko, to focus on him because this is not only history but also everything negative rooted in the years of Stalin's personality cult, when the principles of socialist development were abandoned. I'll take only one aspect: relations between nations.

You've heard in the news about what has happened in and around the Nagorno-Karabakh autonomous region, situated in Azerbaijan. Representatives of the Armenian majority in that region demanded that it would be made part of neighboring Armenia. This happened because the local authorities have made serious violations in the policy of nationalities. Peaceful demonstrations related to this took place in Armenia. However, the matter went as far as serious excesses when a group of hooligans, misled by false rumors about the events in Nagorno-Karabakh, provoked disturbances in the Azerbaijanian city of Sumgaint. There was violence and looting perpetrated by criminal elements, who killed 31 people of various nationalities. And no matter how tragic this is, now, in the conditions of democratization, we speak about this openly. Everything of concern for the people is discussed in the press openly and extensively.

It seems today's events are too far away from the violations of law and Lenin's principles of internationalist policy, practiced during Stalin's personality cult. But if we give more thought to this we'll see that these are direct results to the abandonment of the international principles of socialism during Stalin's personality cult, and today, when society is being democratized, it is necessary to remove the obstacles to socialist development created back at that time.

There is a need for an honest and fair solution to all the national problems, a solution that equally takes the interests of each nation into account.

Muslim Leader Demands Peace

NC051929 Baku Domestic Service in Armenian 1615 GMT 5 Mar 88

[Appeal by Shaykh ol-Eslam Allashukur Pashayev, chairman of the Spiritual Administration of Muslims of the Transcaucasus, to the Azerbaijani and Armenian peoples; date and place not given — read by announcer]

[Text] In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate. [preceding sentence in Arabic] Dear compatriots, I am addressing you as the religious leader of the Transcaucasus Muslims, as a spiritual figure who loves his people and fatherland, and as a citizen of our great country whose ideals are infinitely precious to us. I wish to express to you a greeting from the depths of my heart at a moment when unhappiness has knocked at all our doors.

The dramatic events that have taken place in and around Nagorno-Karabakh have echoed with sharp pain and grief in the heart of every nation and their consequences continue to trouble us. It is bitter to reflect that such a provocation of an ethnic nature, such an act of transgression against the friendship and fraternity of the sons of different peoples gathered together under the flag of solidarity and against the sacred achievements of Soviet people, was possible. Let those who disturb our fraternal relations and spread disunity and strife be damned.

Gorbachev, the leader of our country and the eminent figure of our time, appealed in his message to the Azerbaijani and Armenian working people and populace to uphold our Soviet internationalism, with unwavering faith in the fact that only if we have a friendly family of all our peoples can we ensure the progress of our society and the welfare of all its citizens.

However, the events in Sumgait, and the irresponsible expressions of some groups of peoples, have caused us profound regret and depression. Peace and freedom, man's greatest treasures, are part of the sacred gift of life. The thirst for peace dwells in every man's heart, whatever language he may speak and whatever his faith, as all men have been created from a common origin for the purpose of practicing, not hatred and violence, but goodness for the welfare of all. Whoever attempts to cut that root, to sow estrangement among men and weaken their fraternal relations, is guilty of committing the greatest crime. Those who make unbecoming attempts against other men seem to have forgotten the fact that the very existence of mankind, the sacred gift of life, is put in danger without the affection and respect of one man for others and of peoples for others.

Our passionate call for peace and just relations has resounded around the world from the rostrum of the international conference, "Moslems in the Struggle for Peace," which was held in Baku. Delegates from over sixty countries participated in this conference. We say once again, with total conviction, that the search for friendship and affection for one's neighbor must become part of the conscience and soul of each one of us. Every one of us, Armenian or Azerbaijani, must be led, not by [word indistinct] and emotions, but by reason, restraint, patience, and [word indistinct]. The blindness of the mind is more dreadful than that of the eye. Let us remember this fact and let it guide our steps in these days.

Do the Armenians and the Azerbaijanis want their children to be happy? Do they want mothers to grieve? No. Neither the Armenians nor the Azerbaijanis want that, as it is against all their fundamental interests and sacred aspirations, and it serves the desires of the enemies of our peoples. They cause irreparable damage to common people [words indistinct].

We are firmly convinced that there is one way for our peoples, and that is by creating their own joint welfare within the united Soviet family and under conditions of mutual trust and friendship. I call, in the name of almighty God, all those who care for the happiness of their children, the welfare of their home and hearth, and the honor and self-respect of the nation. Let those whom, carried away by emotions raise their hand against another man, be damned.

Once again, I appeal to you all for calm, reason, and restraint. Let justice, concord, and fraternity prevail. Peace and prosperity to you all. Amen.

Scenes From Nagorno-Karabakh

LD051956 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 5 Mar 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Our correspondent reports from Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast:

[M. Mamedov, identified from caption] An atmosphere of efficiency, high responsibility, and calm is evident in Stepanakert, the center of the autonomous oblast. Plants and factories are operating and educational establishments, transport, and trade and consumer services enterprises are functioning normally. [video shows street scenes, roads full of cars, young couple walking under trees, buildings, schoolchildren walking along street]

During the last days of February the city's railmen found themselves in a complicated situation. Quite a few railcars with freight from all corners of the country had accumulated in the sidings. The oblast committee established an operations headquarters. Locomotive teams and motor transport arrived from the neighboring areas of Azerbaijan and today the station is not only coping successfully with the unloading of railcars but has also started to dispatch products from the oblast's manufacturing enterprises. [video shows railcars in sidings, trucks, excavators at work, loading bulk materials, stacked construction components, trains]

Last year's results gave the Stepanakert electrical engineering plant second place among similar enterprises in the country. It manufactures 20 varieties of industrial, domestic, and medical lighting appliances, which are in demand not only in our country but also abroad. Since the beginning of this year the enterprise has been working in conditions of full financial autonomy and self-financing. When at the end of last month it began to lag

behind, that of course affected the plant's financial situation and now they are taking every measure here to eliminate their debt. The work schedules have been tightened to the limit and a third shift, which also includes engineering and technical staffs, has been organized. [video shows plant entrance, shop floors, light fittings, workers operating machinery]

To make up for the lost time is the task which the builders erecting a new housing complex in Stepanakert have set themselves. This year they are supposed to build a record amount of housing: 50,000 square meters, significantly more than last year. [video shows housing complex under construction, bricklayers at work]

Sumgait Workers Overfulfill Plan

LD051916 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 5 Mar 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] The workers at the Sumgait superphosphate factory are fulfilling orders from farmers of the Transcaucasian republics without delay. They overfulfilled their plan for the first 5 days of March. More than 2000 tonnes of soil nutrients—twice as much as planned—has been produced for Armenia alone. The quick pace of the chemical workers' work is first and foremost connected with the farmers' spring concerns. The owners of subsidiary and garden plots are also being remembered. At their request, the production of fertilizer in smaller packages has been started.

Geophysicists Write Supreme Soviet

PM071137 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Mar 88 Second Edition p 6

[TASS headline: "Strengthening Friendship"]

[Text] The multinational geophysicists collective of the Karabakh and Agdam geophysical expedition of the Azerbaijan Geologiya Production Association—in which Azerbaijanis, Armenians, Russians and Jews work—has sent a letter to the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium:

"We are profoundly indignant at the lack of responsibility of the individuals who provoked disturbances of public order in Nagorno-Karabakh and we demand their immediate cessation," says the message signed by Sh.G. Gadzhiyev, A.G. Vartazaryan, I.A. Krivenkov, A.M. Elenbogen, and others—19 signatures in all. "Working over many years in that area, we have on many occasions witnessed manifestations of the sincere friendship and mutual assistance between ordinary workers in the oblast: workers, kolkhoz workers, the intelligentsia, Armenians, and Azerbaijanis. Addressing our friends in Nagorno-Karabakh, we call for still more strengthening of international friendship and a joint worthy rebuff to nationalistically inclined elements who are attempting to destroy fraternal bonds."

DPA Claims 100 Dead in Unrest

LD061346 Hamburg DPA in German 1230 GMT 6 Mar 88

[Excerpt] Moscow, (DPA)—In the unrest in the Soviet city of Sumgait (Soviet Republic of Azerbaijan) some 100 persons have been killed, according to circles of human rights activists. This was stated by Sergey Grigoryants, the editor-in-chief of 'GLASNOST', an unofficial Moscow publication, on Sunday in answer to questions. According to the official version, 31 persons were killed in the unrest. According to Grigoryants, who has close connexions with civil rights circles in Armenia, there were also people killed in other cities.

Grigoryants stated that the victims of the unrest were buried at Sumgait last Thursday. Soldiers supervised the obsequies. One relative for each person was admitted to the interment. There were said to have been considerably more than 31 dead. Grigoryants described the situation in the two Soviet republics of Azerbaijan and Armania as continuing to be tense. However, there are no demonstrations at present. Citizens' militias [buergerwehren] have been organized in some cities. [passage omitted]

Youths Appeal to Supreme Soviet

NC061814 Baku International Service in Arabic 1600 GMT 6 Mar 88

[Text] A group of youths of the Soviet Azerbaijan Republic has sent a message to the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium expressing its indignation at the irresponsibility of the persons who violated public order in the Nagorno-Karabakh region. We remind the listeners that this autonomous region was established in 1923 within the borders of Azerbaijan. Representatives of 49 nationalities, including Armenians, live in the Nagorno-Karabakh region. Last month, part of the Armenian population demanded the annexation of the region to neighboring Armenia. Some persons tried to exploit this situation by stirring sectarian hostility. Life in the Nagorno-Karabakh region is returning to normal.

Stalin, Karabakh Events Viewed

NC062015 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1630 GMT 6 Mar 88

[Unattributed commentary: "An Un-Noted Anniversary in Our Country"]

[Text] The 35th anniversary of the death of Stalin has come and gone [March 5]. The Soviet press did not note it, but a profound and comprehensive appraisal of the record of Stalin—possibly one of the most contradictory figures of contemporary history—was recently provided in the pages of our press and in the statements of our leaders. The following is what Mikahil Sergeyevich Gorbachev said in his (?speech) devoted to the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution: "Maintaining positions of historical truth, we are obliged

to speak of Stalin's undeniable contribution to the struggle waged in the defense of socialism and its achievements, as well as of the gross political mistakes and arbitrary acts which Stalin and those around him allowed to occur. Our people paid heavily for this. All this had grave consequences for our social order. Stalin's guilt and that of those around him for allowing mass brutalities [zangvadzayin brnoutyounner] and illegalities is collossal and unforgettable before the party and the people. That is a lesson for (?for all people)."

Yes, it constitutes a lesson. (?There is a link) also with the issues being brought up to be settled today.

Our commentator writes: Despite the fact that the anniversary of Stalin's death was not noted, I wish to draw the attention of our listeners to it. What is in question is not only history but also all the negative phenomena whose foundations were laid in the years of the cult of Stalin's personality and during the years of the fundamental development of the bases of socialism. Let us take up just one aspect of the question, that of the development of national relations.

We all now know well the events that have evolved around Nagorno-Karabakh, which is within the territorial structure of the Azerbaijan SSR. The Armenian majority of that oblast made a demand for the unification of the oblast with the neighboring Armenian Republic. This happened because the local authorities allowed serious errors in the nationalities policy, ignoring the interests and national traditions of the Armenian population. There were peaceful demonstrations connected with this in our republic. But the matter reached the stage of serious clashes as well. A group of hooligans, influenced by false reports on the events in Nagorno-Karabakh, staged disturbances in Sumgait, Azerbaijan. Criminal elements perpetrated acts of violence and robberies. Some 31 persons died at their hands, including members of various nationalities. Irrespective of the unpleasentness of this occurence, we openly talk about it under the democratization process. What moves people becomes the subject of extensive publicity and deliberation in the pages of our press. It may seem that the events of our days are far removed from Stalinism and the violations of the Leninist principles of internationalist policies, which were allowed during the years of the cult of Stalin's person. But, considering thes. matters (?carefully), people are becoming increasingly more convinced, writes our commentator, that they are the direct consequences of the deviations from the internationalist principles of socialism during the years of the cult of Stalin's person. So, it is necessary under the [current] conditions of the democratization of the social order to clear the rubble of the destruction wreaked on the path of the development of socialism in those early days. It is necessary to solve all [word indistinct] in a worthy and just manner and to measure each people's interests with the same yardstick.

Armenians To Honor Dead

AU071709 Paris AFP in English 1641 GMT 7 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow, March 7 (AFP)—Ceremonies are to be held Tuesday in the Armenian capital of Yerevan to honour those killed in inter-ethnic rioting in the Azerbaijan city of Sumgait a week ago, reliable sources said Monday.

Several hundred people attended a service Sunday at Moscow's Armenian cemetery in honour of those who died in clashes between Azerbaijanis and Armenians.

The clashes left 31 people dead according to the official toll reported by the news agency TASS, but the Moscow-based dissident journalist Sergey Grigoryants and other dissident sources said more than 100 died.

Mr. Grigoryants' wife said an Armenian woman who had fled Sumgait after the riots told Armenians who attended the memorial service Sunday that bands of Azerbaijanis had launched an anti-Armenian "pogrom."

The violence in Sumgait was apparently sparked by bloody demonstrations last month by Armenians demanding the return to traditionally Christian Armenia of Nagorno-Karabakh, a mainly Armenian area which Stalin ceded to the neighbouring predominantly Shiite Moslem republic of Azerbaijan in 1923.

According to Mrs. Grigoryants, the woman said the violence had erupted Saturday night when Azerbaijani youths roaming the streets attacked the homes of Armenians, setting fire to several buildings. The youths lobbed molotov cocktails into several houses and stabbed people, reliable sources had said earlier. They then looted the city, as the luckier Armenian families took refuge in official buildings guarded by the army, according to rumours.

Some Armenians attributed the violence to the rapid development of Sumgait, an industrial city of 200,000 on the Caspian Sea, in an oil producing area in the southern Soviet Union.

Other anti-Armenian protests by Azerbaijani students rocked the Azerbaijani capital of Baku at the end of last week, according to Mrs. Grigoryants.

A Baku resident said Monday that calm had returned to the city, echoing official statements Saturday, but non-residents are still banned from visiting Baku.

In Armenia, several hundred Armenians were reported holding daily assemblies in Yerevan's main square, where they exchanged news about developments in Sumgait.

On Tuesday on International Women's Day, Yerevan women plan to observe a national day of mourning, according to Armenian poetess Sylva Kaputikian, who met Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev 10 days ago to explain the Armenian claim to the disputed area of Nagorno-Karabakh.

Moscow Race Riot Involving Uzbeks Reported

LD060925 London SUNDAY TELEGRAPH in English 6 Mar 88 p 1

[Unattributed report]

[Text] A race riot in Moscow has given a disturbing new twist to the Soviet Union's recent plague of ethnic unrest in the south.

Hundreds of Russian youths fought with sticks and iron bars against factory workers from Soviet Central Asia and the Caucasus, after a Saturday dance in south-east Moscow.

Police later denied dissident reports that 10 people had been killed in the fighting on February 20, a week after unrest in a disputed mountain region between Armenia and Azerbaijan in which 31 people died.

A visit by THE SUNDAY TELEGRAPH to the grim nine-storey hostel whose residents were in the brawl revealed that drunken young Muscovites had picked a fight with young Uzbeks from the large Soviet Central Asian republic which borders Afghanistan, who had been dancing with Russian girls.

The Uzbeks claimed they had been racially abused and then set upon. They ran to their hostel for help and 500 workers, mostly from Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Tajikstan, from the Tatar community, and from Armenia and Azerbaijan, joined in.

The fight, according to one hostel-dweller, lasted four hours. A young Uzbek said the racial element to the fight was clear—the car workers' Russian colleagues in the same hostel joined the Moscow toughs.

The limitichiki—short-stay workers—are resented by Muscovites for lengthening food and housing queues. Sexual complaints also abound. A blonde Russian woman told me: "They are animals and they are pinching our girls. They should be sent back where they come from."

The limitichiki said they were worried they would be expelled south, where better-paying jobs are less easy to find, but they sounded proud and jovial they had fought back against their Russian antagonists.

4000 Tatars Demonstrate in Crimea

AU062140 Paris AFP in English 2129 GMT 6 March 88

[Text] Moscow, March 6 (AFP)—More than 4,000 Tatars demonstrated in a Caucasian town Sunday demanding to be allowed to return to the Crimea, from where they were deported in 1944, a Tatar spokesman said.

Elvira Ablaeva, contacted by telephone, added that police and "soldiers with machine-guns" were out in force for the gathering in Krasnodar, some 200 kilometres (125 miles) from the Crimean peninsula.

About 800 Tatars were prevented from entering the town and "counter-demonstrators" prevented Tatar leaders from using their microphones, but the assembly lasted for two hours, Mr. Ablaeva said.

The crowd was eventually dispersed by police without clashes or arrests, she added.

A group of 20 Tatars demonstrated in Moscow Saturday to mark the 35th anniversary of the death of former Soviet leader Josef Stalin, who deported an estimated 400,000 people to Soviet Central Asia in 1944 for allegedly cooperating with Nazi occupation troops.

Moscow Civil Rights Demonstration Dispersed

LD061130 Hamburg DPA in German 1051 GMT 6 Mar 88

[Excerpt] Moscow (DPA)—Moscow police today forcibly dispersed a demonstration by civil rights activists and persons wishing to emigrate. More than 20 persons were arrested and taken away in buses. Snowplows were repeatedly driven through the rows of demonstrators to intimidate them. The militia asked Western correspondents to go home.

According to civil rights activists, some 200 persons demonstrated for more freedom, the right to emigrate, and the reappraisal of Soviet history under the dictator Josef Stalin. Among the organizers were several unofficial groups. Persons of German origin from Frunze (Soviet Republic of Kazakhstan), to whom emigration has been refused for years, were also among the demonstrators.

Three female Soviet citizens of German origin from Frunze said they had already been arrested the previous year. At the militia station in Frunze, they had had their hair pulled and were told that they would all be shot to death, Anna Schwind said. Her sisters Nina and Maria have been denied emigration for 7 years now. The authorities banned the demonstration, for which an official application had been made. [passage omitted]

Vasilyev Named 'A Minister' by Supreme Soviet

LD051608 Moscow TASS international Service in Russian 1540 GMT 5 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow, 5 Mar (TASS)—The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has appointed Lev Vasilyev, deputy chairman of a state commission of the USSR Council of Ministers, to be a minister of the USSR.

Historian Interviewed on Lenin Testament

PM070740 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Feb 88 Second Edition pp 3,4

[Interview with Doctor of Historical Sciences V.P. Naumov, sector head at the CPSU Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism, by L. Kurin: "Lenin's Testament"—no place or date of interview given; first six paragraphs are PRAVDA introduction; boldface as published]

[Excerpts] Pages From History [subhead]

Letters about our past represent a sizeable proportion of our editorial mailbag. The flow of such letters increased as a result of party documents published in connection with Great October's 70th anniversary. Even now, following the recent CPSU Central Committee Plenum and M.S. Gorbachev's speech "Revolutionary Restructuring Needs Ideology of Renewal," there are many wishes expressed on this topic. People are as much perturbed by events of 50 years ago as they are by current problems and concerns. It can be boldly said that knowledge of history is one of Soviet society's urgent needs. After all, people turn to the past not only for curiosity's sake. It is a matter of attitudes toward socialism, of the perception of socialism, of how the people's heroic accomplishments could possibly have been accompanied by crimes against the people. It is a matter of what should be kept in our arsenal today and what should be consigned to the archives.

Our readers note that newspapers and journals have recently carried much material on historical topics, including Lenin's political testament. This is understandable, but the layman reader at times has difficulties in finding his way: What is truth and what is invention; what is a serious scientific study and conscientious commentary on genuine documents and what is a biased selection of facts, episodes, and misquotations taken out of specific historical context. Readers express the wish that PRAVDA should provide broader coverage of historical topics and tackle the most controversial, complex, and important episodes, the "blank spots" in history where there is still much that is unclear, many obstructions, and all sorts of accretions and conjectures.

The editorial board, jointly with the CPSU Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism, intends to publish a series of materials devoted to important episodes in the history of the Communist Party and the Soviet state.

This series of materials will be edited by Academician G.L. Smirnov, director of the CPSU Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism.

Today's documentary reportage is devoted to the notes dictated by V.I. Lenin in late December 1922 and early January 1923. They are included in V.I. Lenin's Complete Collected Works under the general heading "Letter to the Congress." Vladimir Ilich's relatives, friends, and associates called them his testament. Doctor of Historical Sciences V.P. Naumov comments on these documents. He heads a sector of the CPSU Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism.

Strictly on Facts [subhead]

During our meeting Vladimir Pavlovich said:

"Of course, the 'Letter to the Congress' ought to be examined in the overall context of Vladimir Ilich Lenin's last works devoted to the practical building of socialism. Let me list them: 'On the Attribution of Legislative Functions to the Gosplan,' 'On the Question of Nationalities or of "Autonomization," ' 'Pages From the Diary,' 'On the Cooperative Movement,' 'On Our Revolution (In Connection with N. Sukhanov's Notes),' 'How We Should Reorganize the Workers' and Peasants' Inspectorate (Proposal to the 12th Party Congress),' and 'Better Fewer but Better.'

"Take Volume 45 of Lenin's Complete Collected Works and read these works. You will see for yourself that they are all organically interlinked. But this certainly does not mean that each of these works should not be examined in detail and in depth. This also applies to the 'Letter to the Congress.'

"I must say bluntly that this is a far from simple document, not only for the layman reader but also for specialist historians. It demands a very scrupulous, thoughtful, dialectical, objective, and—I would not hesitate to say—even objectivist analysis. What does this mean? Concentrate strictly on facts. Concentrate strictly on sound eyewitness testimony. Do not upset history under any circumstances, never apply to it later standards, still less stereotypes and labels. Proceed from the conditions of the political situation at the time, from the ideological differences at the time, and also from the personal struggle for power. Be aware of what is determined by objective conditions and what is caused by subjective factors. This means: Do not turn aside from anything, do not conceal anything, do not fear the truth. This means: Do not evade either controversial issues (and there are plenty of them), or dialectically different assessments, or what may at first glance seem to be contradictions and riddles contained in this document by Lenin."

[Kurin] Vladimir Pavlovich, some people dislike the word "testament." What is your opinion?

[Naumov] Fine, let's not call it a testament. Even though this is what Krupskaya, Bukharin, and others called it. Fine, let's examine this document as one of the last lessons taught by Vladimir Ilich Lenin to his contemporaries, to our fathers, to us, to our children, and to our grandchildren. Let us call it not a testament, but a lesson in courage, wisdom, perspicacity, principledness, and lofty morality. I would also add something that is quite important for the present—a lesson in amicability and highly intelligent tactfulness. [passage omitted]

But now the time has probably come to turn to the contents of the "Letter to the Congress."

[Kurin] But before that, a few words about the situation in the country, within the party and its leadership....

The Situation [subhead]

[Naumov] The general strategic plan for the building of socialism was drafted by Lenin earlier. But the experience of recent years demanded amendments, additions, and substantial changes. The conclusions which Lenin drew from his generalization of socialist building along the paths of the New Economic Policy forced him to acknowledge "a radical change in our entire viewpoint on socialism."

V.I. Lenin suddenly fell ill at a most important turning point in the history of our party and state.

The civil war had only just ended, the norms and rules of war communism were receding into the past, and the country was switching to the New Economic Policy. That was a turning point. I would say a sharp turning point. In everything: politics, the economy, ideology, people's mentality. It was by no means immediately and by no means everyone that accepted this turning point, perceived its importance, and realized its inevitability, including members of the Politburo and members of the party Central Committee.

It is also necessary to bear in mind the urgent task set in the 10th congress resolution on questions of party building. I quote:

"It is necessary to rally anew the party, which was broken into separate detachments during the war period. It is necessary to bring closer together the 'top' and 'bottom' layers, military and civilian personnel, professionals and members of soviets, old and new party members, 'youngsters' and 'elders.' Unless this fundamental task is resolved, the proletarian vanguard will be unable to perform its gigantic economic building role."

Let me cite another quotation in order to explain the role of this proletarian vanguard. Closing the 11th party congress, Lenin said:

"The whole crux of the matter now is to ensure that the vanguard is not afraid to do some work on itself, to overcome itself, and to openly admit its inadequate training and its inadequate skills."

This is the key to the words opening the first part of the "Letter to the Congress." Please open Volume 45 of the Complete Collected Works at page 343. We read:

"I should strongly urge that a number of changes in our political system be made at this congress."

Changes, But for the Sake of What? [subhead]

V.I. Lenin goes on to explain. "Such a reform would considerably increase the stability of our party and lighten for it the struggle in encirclement by hostile states, which, in my opinion, could and must become much more acute in the immediate future. I think that the stability of our party would gain a thousandfold by such a measure."

[Kurin] Excuse me for interrupting you, Vladimir Pavlovich. From the very first lines of this most important document, which essentially expresses the leader's last will, one encounters no preaching, no pressure, no hardline categorical attitudes. Just look at the words Lenin uses: "I should urge," "I would like to inform you of the considerations to which I attach most importance," "I intend to propose for consideration by the congress," "I think...."

[Naumov] Let me add this: He uses this style and this manner of presentation when speaking of the most serious and most fundamental political terms and categories. Also some very alarming ones. Let me read the sentence which opens the note dictated 24 December 1922:

"By stability of the Central Committee, which I mentioned above, I mean measures against a split, insofar as such measures can at all be taken."

[Kurin] Why was Vladimir Ilich so alarmed, what was his primary worry?

[Naumov] I will explain. It was necessary to concentrate all the efforts and resources at the disposal of the party and our people on the solution of great tasks. But at that crucial historical turning point Lenin had to withdraw from party and state leadership because of illness. Vladimir Ilich was well aware of this. He knew, he saw that harmonious work was not organized at the party staff in the very first days and months of his illness. This was not just a matter of individual conflicts. These had also occurred earlier. The real threat was the prospect of a split in the Central Committee and the party leadership as a whole. This is what alarmed Lenin most of all.

This is why the series of works written by Lenin while he was seriously ill and rightly described as his political testament opens with the "Letter to the Congress." This is a key document which helps us to correctly bring to light and understand much in our party's history. This is why it has gained particular importance. It is not so much a matter of the numerous stories which apparently explain the reasons behind the document or try to cast light on the validity of particular descriptions. It is not even a question of the fact that, from the moment it appeared, this document became the topic of sharp debate within the party. It was used—this has to be admitted—as a tool in intraparty struggle. And it is perfectly natural that the "Letter to the Congress" should be surrounded by myths and legends. Obviously, a considerable contribution to this was made by the fact that it was published for the first time in the open press in 1956. The "Letter to the Congress," the history of its creation, and its contents and essence occupy a leading position among the so-called "blank spots."

Let me add something. The tenets of this document and the descriptions contained in it are now being used in press articles, works of fiction, and scientific works. Authors do not always rely on the documents and the genuine facts in their judgments. They often rely on someone's conjecture, assumption, or guess. All this obscures the essence of this most important Lenin document.

To Enlarge the Central Committee [subhead]

[Kurin] So let us move on to a specific analysis. What did Lenin mean by "stability of the Central Committee"? What measures did he plan to achieve this?

[Naumov] Open that same Volume 45 at page 346. How does the note dated 26 December begin?..

"An increase in the number of Central Committee members to 50 or even 100 must, in my opinion, serve a dual or even a treble purpose: The more members there are in the Central Committee, the more people will be trained in Central Committee work and the less danger there will be of a split due to some imprudence."

[Kurin] Vladimir Pavlovich, it would obviously be worth adding what sort of people Lenin wanted to see in an enlarged Central Committee...

[Naumov] What sort of people? Workers.

Lenin writes: "It seems to me that our party is entitled to demand 50-100 Central Committee members from the working class and that it can get them without any undue strain on its resources."

The question is: Why, for what purpose were workers to be recruited to the Central Committee? Lenin answers this question in the note compiled 26 December. We read: "The enlistment of many workers in the Central Committee will help the workers to improve our apparatus, which is downright appalling."

Vladimir Ilich goes on to explain how this would happen:

"The way I see it, a few dozen workers joining the Central Committee could deal better than anyone else with the monitoring, improvement, and re-creation of our apparatus. The Worker-Peasant Inspectorate, on which this function devolved in the beginning, did not prove able to cope with it and can be used only as an 'appendage' or, on certain conditions, as an assistant to these Central Committee members."

[Kurin] What sort of workers?

[Naumov] Lenin explains: "The workers joining the Central Committee must, in my opinion, come primarily not from among those who have had long service in the soviets (throughout this part of my letter I am classing peasants as workers) because these workers have already acquired certain traditions and certain prejudices against which it is desirable to struggle."

Please remember this quite important thesis. It will come in useful as we go on.

[Kurin] What were these new Central Committee members—the workers—to do?

[Naumov] What is their role? Let me cite Lenin (page 348): "I think that such workers, attending all Central Committee sessions and all Politburo sessions and reading all Central Committee documents, could constitute a cadre of dedicated champions of the Soviet system capable, first, of imparting stability to the Central Committee itself and, second, of efficiently working on the renewal and improvement of the apparatus."

Let us sum up this part of the "Letter." Collective leadership in the party and workers' involvement in leadership—this is what Lenin strove for. The creation of a staff which would provide conditions making it possible:

To neutralize the influence of the negative qualities of individual party leaders;

To diminish the influence of purely personal, subjective factors and also of incidental circumstances in the solution of most important questions;

To reduce the danger of a split;

To prevent any harm being done by the political and theoretical waverings or mistakes of individual leaders;

To create conditions whereby the content of the work of the strictly centralized and highly authoritative group of the party Central Committee would be contained within a framework and forms appropriate to its authority.

Lenin also pointed out that party policy was determined by the enormous and undivided authority of the extremely thin layer which could be described as the party old guard. Emphasizing the importance of party unity, Lenin said that only quite a small internal struggle within this layer would be sufficient, if not to undermine its authority, then at least to weaken it to such an extent that decisions will not be within its power.

Personal Descriptions [subhead]

[Kurin] First of all, Vladimir Pavlovich, it is obviously necessary to define precisely what Lenin meant by personal descriptions.

[Naumov] These are primarily not character traits but attitude toward the party cause, philosophical stance, devotion to Marxism, and the ability to analyze the situation dialectically.

[Kurin] Correct. But after all, these descriptions do cover moral principles.

[Naumov] Yes, they do. But only when these moral principles influence in some way or another the main qualities of a revolutionary, a leader.

Stalin.

Take Stalin's description for example. It opens the supplement to the letter of 24 December 1922 dictated on 4 January 1923. This sentence is well known: "Stalin is too rude, and this shortcoming, although perfectly tolerable among us and in contacts between us Communists, becomes intolerable in a general secretary."

I think that this offers a precise answer to your question and to any questions our readers may ask. Lenin never looked at morality and character traits in an abstract fashion, in isolation from the cause which you serve and the position you occupy. This is the key to Lenin's methodology. This is yet another of Lenin's lessons; a lesson in how to assess people and politicians in particular.

[Kurin] It is probably necessary to describe when and under what circumstances Stalin became general secretary. After all, there had been no such office in the party earlier...

[Naumov] Very well, I will describe it. It was in the spring of 1922 that Stalin was elected general secretary of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) Central Committee. Until that time, having been a Politburo member since March 1919, he headed the People's Commissariat for Nationalities Affairs and the Worker-Peasant Inspectorate. During the civil war and in the first few years after its conclusion, in other words until the period we are now discussing, Stalin proved himself a willful leader and an excellent organizer. These facts were noted and duly recorded within the party.

In the second half of 1921 the Politburo put him in charge of organizational work in the Central Committee. His duties included the preparation of Central Committee plenums, Central Executive Council sessions, and so on; in other words, he was essentially performing the duties of a Central Committee secretary.

It must also be noted that Lenin was the head of the Soviet Government. Vladimir Ilich held no formal office in the party or the Central Committee. But he did chair the sessions of Central Committee plenums and the Politburo. Thus Lenin was in fact the leader not only of the Council of People's Commissars but also of the party Central Committee. His de facto assistant was a Central Committee secretary, leader of the secretariat. This office was not officially instituted, but in practice one of the secretaries was chosen to head the Secretariat's work.

When Lenin's health deteriorated, the question of strengthening the Secretariat arose. The likely candidate had to be an authoritative leader who could run party affairs in Lenin's absence. Stalin was chosen. That was when it was decided to boost the prestige and authority of this office by giving it the title of general secretary. In other words, to single him out from among the other secretaries. Of course, the role of this post was also substantially enhanced. It was to this office that Stalin was elected by the Central Committee plenum.

This position began to gain key importance in the entire system of party and state power. Lenin perceived and realized this. Hence Lenin's words:

"Comrade Stalin, having become general secretary, has concentrated boundless power in his hands, and I am not sure whether he will always manage to exercise this power with sufficient caution."

All this—boundless power in one man's hands, an opportunity to exercise it without sufficient caution, plus the rudeness, frequent outbursts of bitterness, capriciousness, and intolerance which Vladimir Ilich Lenin noticed and noted—was what made him suggest that comrades "think over a way of removing Stalin from this position."

Zinovyev and Kamenev.

[Kurin] The second part of the "Letter to the Congress" says that "the October episode of Zinovyev and Kamenev was not, of course, a coincidence but it could hardly be put down to their personal fault." Almost every word

here calls for an explanation. Why was this episode "not a coincidence"? Why "of course"? Why could it "hardly be put down to their personal fault"? Please explain, Vladimir Pavlovich.

[Naumov] All you have to do is open Volume 34 of the Complete Collected Works at page 502. Read.

The 10 (23) October 1917 session of the Russian Social Democratic Workers Party (Bolsheviks) Central Committee discussed the question of armed uprising. Zinovyev and Kamenev were against it. Having suffered defeat at the Central Committee session, on the next day—11 (24) October—they sent a statement to the Central Committee and a letter, entitled "On Current Developments," addressed to the Petersburg City, Moscow City, Moscow Oblast, and Finnish Oblast Committees of the Russian Social Democratic Workers Party (Bolsheviks) and to the Bolshevik factions of the Soviets' Central Executive Committee and the Congress of Northern Oblast Soviets. In this letter they spoke out against the decision on armed uprising made by the Central Committee. Having failed to gain any support at the 15 (28) October enlarged session of the Peterburg City Committee, at which their letter was read, or at the 16 (29) October enlarged session of the Central Committee, Kamenev—on Zinovyev's behalf and on his own—spoke out against the armed uprising, publicizing a secret party decision, in the 18 (31) October issue of the newspaper NOVAYA ZHIZN.

On that day Lenin wrote his "Letter to Members of the Bolshevik Party," followed by the "Letter to the Russian Social Democratic Workers Party (Bolsheviks) Central Committee" on 19 October (1 November).

These documents by Lenin are published in that same Volume 34.

Lenin's letter to the Central Committee was discussed at the 20 October (2 November) Central Committee session. Speaking first, F.E. Dzerzhinskiy proposed: "To demand Kamenev's complete withdrawal from political activity." As regards Zinovyev, he alluded to the fact that the latter was in hiding from the authorities and took no part in party work. Ya.M. Sverdlov pointed out that Kamenev's action was totally inexcusable, but that the Central Committee has no power to expel from the party. He proposed that the Central Committee accept Kamenev's resignation from the Central Committee. I.V. Stalin spoke twice at the session. First he proposed that the discussion of this question be postponed until a Central Committee plenum and, when this proposal was not accepted, he declared in his second speech that "expulsion from the party is no cure" and suggested that Zinovyev and Kamenev be forced to obey Central Committee decisions by leaving them as members of the Central Committee. This same viewpoint was expressed by Stalin in the newspaper RABOCHIY PUT, in a "From the Editorial Board" note published 20 October (2 November), before the Central Committee decision had been adopted. Stalin wrote in this note that, where Zinovyev and Kamenev were concerned, V.I. Lenin's sharp tone did not change the fact "that we basically remain comrades-in-arms." This remark was printed after Zinovyev's statement in NOVAYA ZHIZN and the assessment of Kamenev's and Zinovyev's behavior in V.I. Lenin's letters.

The Central Committee accepted Kamenev's resignation from the Central Committee. It was made incumbent upon Zinovyev and Kamenev not to issue any statements against Central Committee decisions.

Be that as it may, at the time of which we are speaking Kamenev and Zinovyev were members of both the Central Committee and the Politburo. Kamenev was deputy chairman of the Council of People's Commissars and the Labor and Defence Council, while Zinovyev was chairman of the Communist International Executive Committee. But Lenin was well aware of their former faults, had studied well their way of thinking and their philosophical stance, and had even more clearly realized whose interests and whose views these people represented and expressed. Hence he wrote "of course."

Let us now go a little further back, to April 1917. At the Seventh (April) All-Russia Conference of the Russian Social Democratic Workers Party (Bolsheviks), when nominations were being submitted for election to the Central Committee, a large group of delegates turned down Kamenev's nomination. Lenin spoke and said that Kamenev reflects the sentiments of certain strata of the masses. It was therefore important to have a spokesman for these sentiments on the Central Committee. He went on to add: "The fact that we argue with Comrade Kamenev produces only positive results. Comrade Kamenev's presence is very important, since the discussions I have with him are very valuable. When you have convinced him with difficulty, you realize that you are thus overcoming the difficulties which arise among the masses."

This solves the riddle of the dialectically complex comment—"that... it could hardly be put down to their personal fault." Lenin says that their world outlook reflects the sentiments of certain strata of the masses which must be constantly taken into account, we must engage in polemics against them, and must overcome them since they really and actually exist. Even though this may create considerable difficulties. Here again Lenin emerges as a brilliant fighter, polemicist, and realist taking into account the difficulties and contradictions in party life.

Trotskiy.

Perhaps a similar approach ought to be adopted in interpreting Lenin's statement about Trotskiy's non-bolshevism. Lenin takes into account Trotskiy's long path of struggle against bolshevism, a complex and convoluted path which brought him to the ranks of the

Bolshevik Party. This path cannot be described briefly, in the framework of our conversation. What advice can I give to you and the readers?.. Open the index volume to Vladimir Ilich Lenin's Complete Collected Works, look up Trotskiy's name in the name index, and follow up the references to conduct a brief study. Read Lenin's statements on Trotskiy and Trotskiyism at different periods of party history and the history of the revolutionary movement. Think about them, reflect on them.

I would only add that the long years of struggle against the Bolsheviks, against Lenin, not only left their mark but also, more importantly, they were far from accidental, they reflected the particular system of views and world outlook held by Trotskiy. The point here, of course, is not only or not so much the negative aspects of the character of this man who had, in Lenin's words, excessive self-assurance. Trotskiy also had supporters in the party and among the masses. Using his artistry and his oratorical talents, he was able to draw to his side a certain part of the masses struck by ultraleft-wing phraseology. "Left-wing" sentiments were widespread in those years, especially among young people. No matter how difficult and hard this may have been, it had to be taken into account.

In 1922 Trotskiy was a member of the Politburo, people's commissar for Army and Navy affairs, and chairman of the Republican Revolutionary Military Council. At that time Trotskiy had successfully carried out a number of party directives in the national economy sphere, but with excessive enthusiasm for "the purely administrative side of the work," as Lenin notes, and this ultimately led him to struggle against the Central Committee.

Bukharin.

There are different views on the assessment of this, in Vladimir Ilich's words, most valuable and major theoretician of the party. But Lenin immediately remarked that "his theoretical views can be classified as fully Marxist only with great reservation."

[Kurin] Is this not a contradiction? On the one hand, a major theoretician, and on the other hand, "never fully understood dialectics..."?

[Naumov] Yes, there is a contradiction, but it is only dialectical, just like life itself is contradictory. Just think back on Bukharin's stance at the time when the Brest Peace was being negotiated, think back on his stance during the discussion on trade unions. This stance is attributable to lack of knowledge of dialectics, which Bukharin himself admitted. Take a look in the 40th Lenin Anthology, which came out in 1985. Beginning on page 383, it publishes Vladimir Ilich's remarks on N.I. Bukharin's book "Economy of the Transitional Period." A mass of accurate remarks! Lenin notes the insufficiently deep analysis of social phenomena, the scholasticism, the eclecticism. At the same time, there is high appraisal of passages and chapters which correctly outline the laws of the transitional period. A study of these remarks would be very useful for anyone interested in political economy, scientific communism, and dialectical materialism. Very useful indeed! You can see for yourself.

This is why, in that same "Letter to the Congress," Lenin made the proviso that his assessment of Bukharin applies only "for the present" and that he believed that Bukharin would supplement his knowledge and change "his one-sidedness."

Pyatakov.

Lenin also classes Pyatakov among the outstanding and devoted workers—a man "of undoubted outstanding will and outstanding abilities," but overly keen on administrative methods. But even here Lenin expresses the hope that he would correct his shortcomings.

Apart from purely cognitive importance, these assessments also have a great methodological importance. They make it possible to judge the extent to which Lenin was strict and amicable, principled and tactful, implacable toward shortcomings and full of hope that they would be corrected.

The Fate of the Testament [subhead]

[Kurin] What was the development of events after Nadezhda Konstantinovna Krupskaya officially handed Lenin's papers over to the Central Committee commission?

[Naumov] The commission consisted of Kamenev, Stalin, Zinovyev, and others. On 21 May 1924, a Central Committee plenum adopted a decision following Kamenev's report that the "Letter to the Congress" should be read out not at a congress session but to each delegation. This was justified by the claim that Lenin's documents should not be reproduced. This is why they were not published.

Individual congress delegations were addressed by Kamenev, Zinovyev, and Stalin. Their interpretations gave the impression that Lenin had been talking only of the **possibility** of removing Stalin from the position of general secretary. But Lenin had talked not of the **possibility** but of the **way of removing.** Lenin had not even considered the possibility of removal. He spoke of this removal as a perfectly certain and decided matter. Judging by Kamenev's words, the main issue was merely personal traits of Stalin's character.

After the reading of the document, Kamenev declared that Stalin would take the criticism into account. Stalin gave his word that he would take Lenin's criticism fully into account. But the point at issue, as we have already seen, was not merely the personal traits of the general

secretary's character, but the fact that he had concentrated too much power in his hands and would hardly be capable of exercising it with caution. Furthermore, Lenin did not raise the question of removing Stalin from the Politburo. He only suggested that he be transferred to another post.

The view is expressed in some literature that Central Committee members were afraid that Trotskiy might take over the position of general secretary. Maybe they did fear this, bearing in mind his claims to the leadership. But it must also be borne in mind that, as far as Lenin and other Central Committee members were concerned, Trotskiy's non-bolshevism had firmly put an end to his candidacy.

Other stories and suppositions are circulating now. It is claimed that other, more suitable candidates for the office of general secretary were put forward at the time. But there is no documentary confirmation of this.

Of course, such a very important political document demanded not only thoughtful reading but also serious consideration, exchange of opinions, and deliberations aloud. But none of the congress delegates had a copy in hand. Therefore there was no debate.

There was discussion only on Lenin's proposals regarding the organizational building of the party's leading organs. The question was discussed by the Central Committee. Trotskiy spoke firmly against enlarging the Central Committee with workers.

Lenin's proposal was formally adopted. The 12th Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) Congress increased the number of Central Committee members from 27 to 40. In addition, an integrated body of the Central Control Commission-Worker-Peasant Inspectorate was created. The 13th party congress increased the number of Central Committee members from 40 to 53. As we can see, the increase in Central Committee membership was insignificant; at any rate, not on the scale urged by Lenin. And the additional members were by no means workers. The involvement of workers in the activity of the Central Control Commission was not accompanied by the training and assistance measures Lenin had in mind. All this prevented the implementation of Lenin's design—to introduce workers into the party leadership so that nobody's prestige could prevent questioning, and to secure availability of information and monitoring of the strictest correctness of actions.

The 15th All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) Congress in 1927 decided to append the "Letter to the Congress" to its stenographic record and to have it published in the Lenin Anthology. The text of the "Letter to the Congress" was published in a confidential bulletin. It was not printed in the Lenin Anthology.

A plenum of the Central Committee and the Central Control Commission was held in October 1927. Stalin's speech partially quoted and commented on the "Letter to the Congress," including the note dated 4 January 1923. This speech was published with abbreviations in Stalin's Collected Works, and the note about Stalin's transfer was not quoted in full.

All three parts of the "Letter to the Congress" together with all additions were made public and published in issue No 9 of the journal KOMMUNIST in 1956. They were included in full, as I have already mentioned, in the fifth edition of V.I. Lenin's Complete Collected Works.

Lessons [subhead]

[Kurin] Vladimir Pavlovich, readers are obviously interested mainly in anything valuable that we can learn today from Lenin's "Letter to the Congress." After all, this is also his testament to us, who are now engaged in revolutionary restructuring. Am I right?

[Naumov] Yes. So let us sum up. Now, in conditions of restructuring and democratization, Lenin's teaching about the party and its activity must be fully revived. The "Letter to the Congress" actually helps us to revive the Leninist image of the Communist Party and the new socialist system, to cleanse it of accretions and distortions, and to free it from everything that fettered society and prevented the full realization of its potential. Lenin's testament helps us to clean the rust of bureaucratism, subjectivism, and ambition from the values and ideals of socialism, to cleanse it of everything inhumane, and thus to release man's best creative energies.

Lenin waged an implacable struggle against the alienation of working people from power, from state interests, and from the solution of economic, political, ideological, and cultural questions. Eloquent proof of this is provided by the "Letter to the Congress." Today we must arm ourselves with this commandment of Lenin's.

Lenin's "Letter to the Congress" helps us to abandon the dogmatic, bureaucratic, and voluntarist heritage because it teaches us the real dialectics of class and general human factors in today's specific conditions. The political testament contains a tremendous methodological potential which has by no means been fully revealed.

Lenin's document helps us realize what the subjective factor in history is and how it can influence society's development. It helps us to struggle against excessive centralism, administrative methods, and total license.

In short, we must learn well these lessons which are more than 60 years old. This is vitally necessary.

Finally a wish. I would like readers to acquire their knowledge of the history of our party and state primarily from Lenin. Not by means of isolated quotations, not by thoughtlessly learning them by heart, not by taking them

out of context to suit the requirements of the time, not by endless refinements, but by mastering Lenin's methodology and the ability to profoundly and dialectically analyze specific reality.

[Kurin] This is not goodbye, Vladimir Pavlovich. Until we meet again. Until the next time, the next conversation on "blank spots" in history.

Economic

Draft Law on Cooperatives Outlined

LD051402 Moscow TASS in English 1327 GMT 5 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 5 TASS—A draft law on Soviet cooperatives was published here today.

The document, which is some 80 pages long, defines economic, organizational and legal conditions for co-op activities. After being discussed nationwide, it will be submitted to Soviet parliament.

The bill aims to encourage the cooperative movement in the country. While the state sector will retain its leading role, this movement should help saturate the market with goods and increase the range and availability of consumer services.

The draft speaks of "equal interaction" between the state and cooperative sectors and allows co-ops to engage in foreign economic activities.

It permit cooperatives of two kinds, namely producer ones and consumer ones.

The first group of co-ops may produce, procure, process and market farm produce, manufacture consumer and producer goods, gather and recycle wastes, and mine minerals. They may also specialize in car servicing, public catering and other operations.

Consumer co-ops are those offering trading and public catering services Along with these activities, they may organize production schemes as well.

The bill says that anybody over 16 may join a co-op, either a producer one or a consumer one or both.

People employed in the state sector may be a member of only one producer co-op and work there after hours.

The document formalizes a co-op's right to fix any prices for its goods and services that it thinks the market will bear. The earnings of co-op members will not be limited, but the government, guided by the goal of consistently enforcing the principles of social justice, will regulate incomes by dint of taxation.

Agricultural

Late February Weather, Crop Status Reported

PM070901 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 4 Mar 88 p 1

[Agrometeorologist N. Ignatova report: "Weather and Crops"]

[Text] The weather in the European part of the USSR is milder than usual, but is unstable in the western half. Winter grain crops and perennial grasses are in a state of winter dormancy beneath a snow cover almost everywhere (except extreme southern regions).

In a number of rayons of the Bashkir ASSR and of Vologda, Perm, Kostroma, Ivanovo, and Kirov Oblasts, where the snow cover in the fields is 55-65 cm deep and the depth of frozen soil is small (less than 50 cm), the minimum soil temperature at a depth of 3 cm has stayed between -1° and -2°. Plants are intensively expending nutrients on respiration. There could be thinness of stand there in spring as a consequence of plants' rotting. An icy crust close to the soil is an unfavorable factor for the wintering of crops. It persists in a number of oblasts of the Northwest, Central, and Central Chernozem Regions and the Belorussian SSR and in Sumy, Chernigov, Kiev, Poltava, and Volgograd Oblasts, but it is not very thick (mainly 10-15 mm) and so will not have a substantial influence on plants. In individual places on this territory, however, the ice crust is 20-40 mm thick in low-lying areas—which could lead to sparsity of the crops in spring.

In the Crimea, over the majority of Krasnodar Kray, in the southern half of Stavropol Kray, and in the autonomous republics of the North Caucasus there is no snow cover in the fields, and the soil has thawed. Intensive precipitation has been observed in Krasnodar Kray and Rostov Oblast.

Very cold weather has predominated in the farming regions of Siberia and over the majority of Kazakh territory. In West Siberia winter grain crops have been under a snow cover generally 30-45 cm and more deep. Therefore, despite the hard frosts, the minimum soil temperature at tillering node depth for winter crops has stayed between -5° and -10. Wintering of winter crops has been proceeding well.

In the Central Asian republics the first half of the 10-day period was very warm (the maximum air temperature rose to 20°, and rose to 21-25 in the extreme south). Winter grain crops were growing during most of the 10-day period. In the southern regions (except Kirghizia) weak growth of alfalfa and other pasture vegetation was observed. The height of the young shoots put out did not exceed 4-6 cm. The alfalfa's condition is good. Buds have swelled on fruit crops in Turkmenia and Uzbekistan, while they have begun opening on peach, apricot, cherry, and apple trees in the extreme south.

Media Report 3-7 Mar Agricultural Developments

LD070213 [Editorial Report] The following is a compilation of reports on agricultural developments in the USSR carried by Moscow Domestic Service in Russian, unless otherwise indicated, on 3-7 March. GMT times of broadcasts are given in parentheses at the end of each item.

3 March

Farms in the European zone are completing their preparations for spring work in the fields. First-class corn seed has been planted for use this year in the Black Sea area, where it will be sown in one-third of the corngrowing zone. In previous years, the shortage of high-grade seed has slowed down the output of good grain. Sowing is proceeding in the southernmost areas of the USSR. (1600)

Our correspondent on Uzbekistan, Yurkin Abdulayevich Rakhimov, reports via telephone about the progress of the spring sowing which is underway. He reports i.e. that at present 700,000 hectares have been sown to eared crops—in the main, winter crops which specialists consider to be in good condition. Spring sowing has already been completed in the south. For the republic as a whole it remains for grain crops to be sown on around 20,000 hectares. Before proceeding to the main concern of sowing cotton, alfalfa sowing should be completed. In recent years excessive favoring of cotton production at the expense of alfalfa has led to disruption of the scientifically determined crop rotation system and thus to a reduction in soil fertility and the availability of alfalfa fodder for animal husbandry. Thus alfalfa sowing is to be sharply extended while reducing the area sown to cotton. Cotton mania had caused the republic's economy palpable damage in past years, but things are now on the mend. (1600)

4 March

Sowing of spring and feed crops has started in southern Kirghizia. Favorable weather conditions, 100 percent readiness of machinery and new, promising strains of seeds should ensure a high yield. In contrast to previous years, field work is currently being carried out by large mechanized teams working in two shifts. The sowing campaign will soon switch to the northern rayons. About 400,000 hectares, in all, of arable land has been allocated to spring, grain, and feed crops in the republic. (0304)

Cotton ginning plants of Azerbaijan have completed the preparation of seeds for the next harvest ahead of schedule. (0700)

The Uzbekistan mechanizers have so far carried out additional fertilization of winter grain on 300,000 hectares. Aerial spraying was carried out on a considerable part of this area. (0700)

5 March

No fileworthy items monitored.

6 March

Teams in Surkhan-Darya Oblast, Uzbekistan, began sowing today. They are the first in the republic to begin corn sowing. (0000)

7 March

No fileworthy items monitored.

Scientific

Upcoming Phobos Project in 'Decisive Phase'

LD041732 Moscow TASS in English 1550 GMT 4 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 4 TASS—Preparations for an international space project, in which two probes will be launched to the Martian moon Phobos, have entered the decisive phase, with the first vehicle already at Baykonur Cosmodrome and the other expected there in the middle of this month, a senior Soviet space scientist told TASS.

Vyacheslav Balebanov, deputy director of the Academy of Sciences' Space Research Institute, said that besides Phobos, the vehicles will study also Mars, the sun and interplanetary space.

The project involves the USSR, Austria, Bulgaria, Hungary, the German Democratic Republic, Poland, Finland, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Czechoslovakia, Switzerland, Sweden and the European Space Agency.

Scientists believe that Phobos and the other Martian moon, Deimos, are former asteroids captured by the red planet's gravitational field. Such celestial bodies are of great interest to researchers.

The probes are to be blasted off July 7 and 12. After reaching Mars in 200 days, they will near Phobos, getting as close as first 50 kilometers and eventually 50 meters to it, and coast over its surface in this way at a speed of several kilometers per hour for half an hour.

It is during this phase that they are to do remote-sensing studies of Phobos, including laser, ion mass analysis, deep radar probing, surface temperature reading and other experiments, and take television pictures of the Martian satellite with a resolution of several centimeters.

The vehicles will drop landers on Phobos which will analyze its rock samples to establish their composition as well as physical and chemical properties (this will help deduce the rate of decleration of Phobos' orbital movement and the nature of its oscillatory motions).

After that the probes will soar up to an altitude of 50 kilometers again to continue studies under a wide-ranging research program. The mission is to last for a minimum of 18 months.

The scientific interest in Mars is, among other factors, due to the fact that that planet can be developed by man. This is why the Phobos program provides also for making a television film of mars, optical and temperature studies of its surface, and studies of its atmosphere, magnetic field and solar energy flows reaching it, Balebanov said.

As far as observations of the sun are concerned, they will be made by both probes while flying to Mars and after nearing Phobos. En route to the red planet they will study also the physical and chemical properties of the interplanetary medium.

Soviet-French Flight Preparations in Progress

LD062149 [Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1800 GMT on 6 March, in its regular "Vremya" newscast, carries a 1-minute video report by S. Slipchenko on preparations for a joint Soviet-French space flight. Against a background of a snow-covered woodland scene, he comments on the March weather and the low temperatures. The video then shows two men sitting in the snow outside a tent, making coffee over a "Skovorodna" miniburner. Slipchenko says that this is only one of many multipurpose pieces of equipment being used by the two men, and points out "all the equipment is designed for a crew to survive in any conditions."

Cosmonaut A.A. Leonov is interviewed, and he says "cosmonauts have to be taught how to act in such conditions: Such training is carried out in polar regions, in mountains, in deserts, and on the sea."

Slipchenko says "the Soviet-French space flight will take place in November this year, and the landing will, as we say, be a winter one." He says the cosmonauts are learning "to survive in snow," and that this work is being monitored by doctors.

The report ends with an interview with cosmonaut Yu.N. Glazkov, who says that more and more new equipment is being developed to help in such conditions, equipment which is useful for civil and military aviation crews, expeditions, prospecting teams, and so forth.

'Mir' Cosmonauts Exercising, 'Healthy'

LD060708 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0500 GMT 6 Mar 88

[Text] The crew of the Mir orbital complex is having a day off today. No scientific experiments have been planned, just 1 hour has been set aside for cleaning up the station accommodations. Vladimir Titov and Musa Manarov will each spend 2 hours exercising on the exercise bicycle and running track. As is usual on days off, the latest news and music will be transmitted to the crew in the communications sessions. According to reports from orbit, the flight is proceeding normally, the cosmonauts are healthy and feel good.

Military

Yazov Speech to Military Olympians

OW061101 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2205 GMT 5 Feb 88

[Speech by Army General Dmitriy Timofeyevich Yazov, CPSU Central Committee Politburo candidate member and USSR Defense Minister, at a meeting held at the USSR Defense Ministry on 2 March, in honor of Army athletes who took part in the Winter Olympics in Calgary; from the "I Serve the Soviet Union" program—recorded]

[Text] You came first in the unofficial team rankings. But this, in itself, is not the most important thing. Most important is that you have truly carried the spirit of love, freedom, and honor and the dignity of the Soviet people to that continent. That is why I would like to say a great big thank you to all of you, first for your love for the motherland, for your patriotism, and for the feeling you brought with you to the competition. Whenever the flag of the Soviet Union was raised in your honor, it was also raised in our honor, it was raised in honor of our motherland, which in turn served to raise its prestige. I thank you for this.

Perhaps it is true to say that television broadcasts never enjoyed an audience as large as the one that gathered to watch the reports about you in Calgary. This means the whole country was rooting for you—for you, for us, for our prestige and honor, and the dignity of our motherland.

Your successful performance inspires the sportsmen of the Army and Navy to seek further successes not only in military and political training but also in sports. I feel that now that you have returned, if you should begin to actively popularize the successes you have achieved, you will be able to attract to your team hundreds, thousands, and perhaps even many thousands of Army and Navy athletes.

Further on Meeting

PM041453 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 4 Mar 88 Second Edition p 1

["Our correspondent" report: "In Honor of Olympic Games Winners"]

[Excerpts] The 15th Winter Olympic Games in Calgary ended in a convincing victory for Soviet sport. [passage omitted]

On Wednesday the leadership of the USSR Ministry of Defense and the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate had a meeting with Army athletes who participated in the games.

Army General D.T. Yazov, CPSU Central Committee Politburo candidate member and USSR minister of defense, addressed those present. Performing as part of

the USSR's combined Olympic team, he pointed out, Army athletes displayed the splendid qualities of the Soviet person—patriotism, loyalty to Communist ideals, and love of their socialist motherland. Your high achievements, the USSR defense minister said, will serve as an inspiring example to all Army and Navy servicemen. Looking at you, they will swell the ranks of physical culture and mass sports activists in units, on board ships, in formations, and in military educational institutions; this will help to improve the combat readiness of our glorious Armed Forces, which recently celebrated their 70th anniversary.

Army General D.T. Yazov cordially congratulated the athletes on their great success in the Olympics and wished them great new victories to the glory of our socialist motherland. He presented "70 Years of the USSR Armed Forces" jubilee medals and souvenir gifts to the champions and prizewinners of the Olympic Games. Leaders and organizers of Army sport and leading coaches were also awarded USSR defense minister prizes. [passage omitted]

M.V. Gramov, USSR State Committee for Physical Culture and Sports chairman; Marshal of the Soviet Union V.G. Kulikov, USSR first deputy defense minister and commander in chief of the Warsaw Pact states' Joint Armed Forces; Army General P.G. Lushev, USSR first deputy defense minister; Army General A.D. Lizichev, Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate chief; Army General D.S. Sukhorukov, USSR deputy defense minister for personnel; and generals and officers were present at the meeting.

Kulikov, Lizichev, Others Attend Wreathlaying
PM041435 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 4 Mar 88 Second Edition p 3

["Our correspondent" report: "On the Glorious Anniversary"]

[Excerpt] A ceremonial laying of wreaths at the monument to the grenadiers—heroes of the battle of Pleven—took place in Moscow 3 March to mark the 110th anniversary of Bulgaria's liberation from the Ottoman yoke.

The following came to honor the bright memory of Russia's courageous servicemen who brought the joy of liberation to the ancient land of Bulgaria: Marshal of the Soviet Union V.G. Kulikov, USSR first deputy defense minister and commander in chief of the Warsaw Pact states' Joint Armed Forces; Army General A.D. Lizichev, Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate chief; Army General D.S. Sukhorukov, USSR deputy defense minister for personnel; and prominent military chiefs. A wreath was laid to the strains of solemn music. [passage omitted]